



PIHANS • XXVI

THE RECORDS OF THE EARLY HITTITE EMPIRE  
(C. 1450-1380 B.C.)

*By*  
Philo H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

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A.A. KAMPMAN et MACHTELD MELLINK

## XXVI

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	IX
Concise Bibliography and List of Abbreviations . . . . .	XII
Introduction . . . . .	1
I. Linguistical Evidence . . . . .	7
II. The Linguistical Interpretation of Textual Variants . . . .	29
III. Philological Evidence . . . . .	38
IV. Historical Considerations . . . . .	57
Appendix A List of Catalogue Numbers for the Middle Hittite Texts .	80
Indices . . . . .	84
Map Asia Minor in the beginning of the Empire period	



## PREFACE

This study is a first result of the Computer Project as undertaken by Professor Güterbock at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The goal of this project was the preparation of a concordance for lexicographical research on parts of the corpus of Hittite texts. First an intricate and rather elaborate system of adaptation was worked out in order to enable the computer to handle Hittite texts, even though these may be entered only with the help of the limited number of characters available on the keyboard of an IBM card punch. In this system all the necessary «diplomatic» details (break signs, text restorations either free or based upon a duplicate, textual variants) are preserved. The text is processed in a three-line system (Discon) which has been developed at the Computer Center of the University of California for use on an IBM 7090. The A-line presents the text itself in natural text-units (discourse blocks), these being the paragraphs established by the Hittite scribes themselves. As stated above, this A-line contains all the necessary “diplomatic” information.

The B-line of the multi-line text has been used to add the stems by which the print-out of the A-line should be arranged (in other words the lexical concordance is actually made on the B-line). Personal names, place names and the names of deities bear a special mark and are consequently assembled in special parts of the concordance. Wherever possible Hittite values have been added to Sumerograms and Akkadograms; homonyms have been distinguished; enclitics have received a separate entry.

Grammatical and syntactical classifications have been coded and stored in the C-line. This means that the output also contains a grammatical and a syntactical concordance. A special “Search Program” was developed by our programmer, Mr. Robert Ekstrom, in order to assemble such spelling items as double consonants, plene writing of vowels, all possible vowel sequences within a word, and also to draw up a tabulation for the use of the syllabary during the different periods in which Hittite texts were written.

Up to the present, the Old Hittite texts (1965-1966) and those of the Middle Hittite period (1967-1968) have been prepared for computer processing. For two reasons it was decided to study the Middle Hittite output first, primarily because it is relatively small and limited to a short span of time (approximately 1450-1380 B.C.), and secondly because of the historical importance of the problems



involved. This first study is rather limited in scope and offers a good test-case for the feasibility of computer analysis in the dating of «floating» texts. I have the impression that the method offers good prospects on this point and that it could lead to a considerable enlargement in the number of recognized Middle Hittite texts.

Perhaps I may add a note of warning. All I have attempted to do is to make a first beginning with a cautious reappraisal of the situation after the pioneer studies of Kammenhuber, Carruba, Gurney and Otten. Taking my clue from the historical texts I have used a combination of strictly grammatical and philological evidence together with prosopographical and geographical indications in order to form a limited, reliable corpus of Middle Hittite texts. But I have no doubt that this choice represents no more than a modest beginning. After the criteria to date cuneiform texts and manuscripts have been more fully developed, many more compositions will be attributed to the beginning of the Empire period on strictly grammatical and philological grounds alone.

The philological preparation and the transcription for computer input of all the Old Hittite texts were performed by Professor Güterbock. I added the B- and C-lines and performed or supervised the key-punching. Under supervision of Professor Güterbock, A-, B- and C-lines of the Middle Hittite texts were performed by me. I also took care of the key-punching. Mr. Robert Ekstrom adapted the Discon program for use at the Chicago Computation Center and made our own "Search Program". He supervised the actual processing of all our material.

The work was undertaken with the help of grants from the University of Chicago and the American Council of Learned Societies, both of which are gratefully acknowledged here. Both Professors Güterbock and Laroche as well as Folke Josephson and Dr.I.S. Herschberg have been so kind as to read an earlier draft of this study. I have greatly profited by their comments and criticisms. The responsibility for the alternative hypothesis with respect to the distribution of the Hittite historical texts as presented in this expose rests only with me, however. Their willingness to discuss certain details and implications of either the Hittitological side of this study (Güterbock, Laroche and Josephson) or its more general methodological aspects (Herschberg) should not be taken to imply unqualified approval.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to both professors Güterbock and Laroche and Mr.D.A. Kennedy. Professor Güterbock invested a lifetime's work in the Old Hittite texts and the "proof" as given in Chapter I is completely dependent upon the grammatical analysis of the corpus of Old Hittite texts as prepared

by him for the Hittite Computer Analysis Project. Professor Laroche entrusted me with the final editing of the file card system by him and Mr.D.A. Kennedy in connection with their work for the *Projet de Répertoire Géographique*. The historical Chapter IV could not have been written without the support of their painstaking work. To Mrs. A.M. de Bruin-Cousins M.A. I offer my sincere thanks for the time and care so promptly given to the final revision of the English text.

Amsterdam, Mei 1969

Philo H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE

## CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In general I have adhered to the systems used by either Friedrich (*Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1952; *Ergänzungsh.*, 1957, 1961, 1966) or Laroche (*Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, see below).

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| AAA                                  | = <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool.  |
| AfO                                  | = <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin.   |
| Alp, S., <i>Instructions</i>         | = <i>Military Instructions of the Hittite King Tut-haliya IV</i> (?), <i>Belleten</i> XI (1947), fasc. 43, p. 383 ff.   |
| Anat. Studies                        | = <i>Anatolian Studies</i> , Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London.   |
| Anatolica                            | = <i>Annuaire international pour les Civilisations de l'Asie Anterieure</i> , Leiden.   |
| ANET <sup>1</sup>                    | = <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament</i> , edited by J.B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1950.  |
| ArchOr                               | = <i>Archiv Orientalní</i> , Praha.   |
| Baghd.Mitt.                          | = <i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> , Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Berlin.  |
| Bossert, H. Th.,<br>CAH              | = <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> : fasc. 40, H. Lewy, <i>Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period</i> , fasc. 44, O.R. Gurney, <i>Anatolia c. 1600-1380 B.C.</i> Asia, Istanbul, 1946. |
| Carruba et alii. <i>Bemerkungen</i>  | = Carruba, O., Souček, V., Sternemann, R., <i>Kleine Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Fassung der hethitischen Gesetze</i> , ArchOr XXXIII (1965), pp. 1-18.                                    |
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| —, <i>Verbalendungen</i>             | = <i>Die Verbalendungen auf -wani und -tani und das relative Alter der heth. Texte</i> , Die Sprache XII (1966), p. 79 ff.  |
| —, <i>Die I. und II. Pers. plur.</i> | = <i>Die I. und II. Pers. plur. im Luwischen und Lykischen</i> , Die Sprache XIV (1968), p. 13 ff.  |

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- Istanb. Mitt. = Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Tübingen.
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- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven, Conn., USA.
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
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- , *Sprachen Kleinasiens* = *Die Sprachen des vorhellenistischen Kleinasien in ihrer Bedeutung für die heutige Indogermanistik*, MSS XXIV (1968), pp. 55-123.
- , *Arier* = *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, Heidelberg, 1968.
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- MSS = Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, München.
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- RHA = Revue Hittite et Asianique, Paris.
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## INTRODUCTION

During the last decades there has been a growing tendency among Hittitologists to question the traditional order of the Hittite historical texts : a number of compositions mainly connected with the names of Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas have been re-assigned from the last decennia of the Empire to an earlier period between Tudhaliyas II (in actual fact the first king of this name) and Suppiluliumas I. This period represents the early beginning of the Hittite Empire (c. 1450-1380 B.C.), while from a linguistic point of view the texts have aptly been characterized as « Middle Hittite ».

The first texts to be thus redated were Cat. 155 (land grant decree of Arnuwandas, Asmunikal and the *tuhukantis* Tudhaliyas), Cat. 175 (treaty with the dignitaries of certain northern districts concluded by the same group of royal persons), Cat. 277 (prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmunikal about the disruption of the cults in those northern districts which were ravaged by the Gasgaeans), Cat. 354.1 (Asmunikal on the establishment of a mausoleum) <sup>1</sup>. For Cat. 155, this new attribution was supported by a strong archaeological argument. After this first discovery by Güterbock, Goetze adduced historical reasons to prove that Cat. 87 (treaty with nobles from Ismerikka) should be dated to the same general period <sup>2</sup>.

Perhaps it is useful to retrace the course of the discussion. Güterbock had transferred the first group of texts to a king Arnuwandas who was supposed to have lived sometime before Suppiluliumas. Goetze ascribed them to a still earlier king of this name. This attribution seemed to be proven correct when Laroche tried to eliminate the other Arnuwandas before Suppiluliumas altogether <sup>3</sup>. Very recently the picture changed again, for now Otten wants to eliminate Hattusilis II and Tudhaliyas III (= II<sup>1</sup>), with the surprising result that again we are faced by an Arnuwandas just before Suppiluliumas I : <sup>4</sup>

traditional order : Tudhaliyas II (= I <sup>1</sup> ) Arnuwandas I Hattusilis II Tudhaliyas III(= II <sup>1</sup> ) Suppiluliumas I ;	Otten :   Tudhaliyas II (= I <sup>1</sup> ) Arnuwandas I Suppiluliumas I.
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Güterbock, MDOG 74 (1936), p. 68 ff. and *SBo* I, p. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 76 ff., JAOS LXXII (1952), p. 70 and JCS XI (1957), p. 57 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Laroche, RA XLVII (1953), p. 70 ff, and especially p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Otten, *Quellen*, Tabelle I on p. 25.



Already a few years ago, Otten and Carruba voiced doubts about the dating of the Gasgaean treaties by von Schuler in his edition, *Die Kaškāer* (1965), to the period of Arnuwandas III<sup>5</sup>. In the meantime Carruba gave his arguments in two important articles on the verbal endings -wani and -tani<sup>6</sup>. On historical grounds Gordon and Gurney concluded that Cat. 85 and 86 — annals of a king Tudhaliyas (n° 85) and his son Arnuwandas (n° 86) which are clearly interrelated — should not be attributed to the last kings who bore these names but to their predecessors at the beginning of the Empire period<sup>7</sup>. In his last treatment of Hittite history Otten pointed to the archaic characteristics of Cat. 89 (the indictment of Madduwattas) in matters of grammar and spelling<sup>8</sup>. In his books on the Hittite Medio-passive and also in his review of von Schuler's book, *Die Kaškāer*, Neu gave important comments on the chronology of Hittite texts in general and also on the date of various specific texts<sup>9</sup>.

So far scholars have limited themselves to the study of the attribution of specific texts. The general problem of attribution has not yet been formulated so as to encompass all the texts concerned, nor have the systematics of such attributions been studied. While preparing the datable Hittite texts for the computer project as engaged upon by Professor Güterbock, I had occasion to deal first with all the known Old Hittite material and afterwards with the undoubtedly Middle Hittite texts. It then struck me that analysis for and by the computer led to the establishment of a certain number of typical Middle Hittite traits which are also to be found in the texts of disputed attribution. Personally I would advance that a fairly large group of texts has indeed been wrongly dated and that the traditional view of Hittite history proceeds from assumptions on the temporal sequence of the Hittite historical texts which are at least open to discussion. It could be of importance to describe an alternative attribution in some detail and to evaluate the consequences of the proposed change.

It is impossible, I think, just to redate one or very few texts. It seems probable that a scholar like von Schuler, who worked on a number of the disputed group<sup>10</sup>,

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškāer*, p. 113 note 13.

<sup>6</sup> See Carruba, *Verbalendungen* (Die Sprache XII (1966), p. 79 ff.) and *Die I. und II. Pers. Plur.* (Die Sprache XIV (1968), p. 13 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gurney, *CAH* fasc. 44, p. 15 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See Otten, *Die altorientalische Reiche II* (*Fischer Weltgeschichte*), p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> See Neu, *Interpretation und Grundlagen*, passim; review on von Schuler, *Die Kaškāer*, in *IF* LXXIII (1968), p. 169 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cat. 176 in his *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, Cat. 172 and 178.1 in his article *Hethitische Königs-erlasse*, and Cat. 95-97 in his book *Die Kaškāer*.

must have felt that they clearly belong together. This very proper feeling probably contributed to his conservative attitude.

In order to explain a number of archaic traits, e.g. in the indictment of Madduwattas (Cat. 89), it has been supposed that the last generation of scribes was subject to archaizing tendencies<sup>11</sup>. It is of course hard to refute this theory and to prove that the texts in question are not be regarded as late originals with archaizing tendencies, but rather as compositions of an earlier period, being either originals themselves, or, in part at least, late copies which were adapted to some degree to later scribal habits. In all fairness it should be clearly stated that the alternative hypothesis is based on two assumptions, both of which require proof, 1) that the Hittite language knew a gradual development from the period of the Old Hittite kingdom up to the last texts dating from the period just before the destruction of the Hittite capital, and 2) that Hittite scribes often adapted their copies to the more modern usage of their own days. I shall try to deal with these points in two different chapters of this study.

After an enumeration of all the texts concerned I shall concentrate on the linguistic evidence that these texts indeed constitute a category of their own falling between the Old Hittite texts and the texts of the period of Suppiluliumas I. This material is arranged in such a manner that it may also serve to give proof of the first assumption just formulated, that of the gradual development of the Hittite language (Chapter I). Hittite compositions which happen to be preserved in several copies sometimes show differences in their wording, i.e. textual variants, which are of a linguistic nature. It can thus be shown that these texts are preserved in an older and a younger version, an original and a later redaction. This proves that some texts were modernized to a considerable degree (Chapter II). In a number of cases there is strong evidence that such double versions also exist for a member of the disputed group. In other examples where only one manuscript exists, there are formal or internal indications that the tablet is not an original, but a later copy. For a third group of disputed texts the variation between "free" spelling variants seems to designate that they either stem from an intermediary period between older and newer spelling habits, or should be considered as partially adapted copies of later times. All this will be given in a chapter under the title *Philological Evidence* (Chapter III). Historical arguments for this alternative attribution and some of its consequences will be put forward in a fourth Chapter (*Historical Considerations*). Appendix A enumerates all those

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Madduwattas*, p. 137 and most clearly Crossland, *Compte Rendu de la troisième Rencontre Assyriologique internationale*, Leiden, 1954, p. 153 ff.

compositions which in my opinion should be considered as Middle Hittite (in the order used in Laroche's *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*).

*Enumeration of Texts* <sup>12</sup>

A. *Old Hittite texts* (corpus constituted by Professor Güterbock).

B. *Undoubtedly Middle Hittite texts*. This group consists of the following compositions :

KBo XV 10 (ritual mentioning Tudhaliyas II and Nikalmati).

KBo XVI 31 (cf. Otten in the Introduction to that volume : "... , kleine Schrift, ähnlich Nr. 25"; fragment of an instruction or treaty).

KBo XVI 45 (cf. Otten in the Introduction : "Die Schrift ähnelt stark dem sog. alten Duktus"; fragment of an instruction or treaty).

KBo XVI 46 (cf. Otten in the Introduction : "... , kleine Schrift, sonst Ähnlichkeit mit älterem Duktus"; fragment of an instruction or treaty).

KBo XVI 47 (treaty of the 15th century, cf. Otten in the Introduction to KBo XVI and Istanb. Mitt. XVII (1967), p. 55 ff.) <sup>13</sup>.

Cat. 155 (land grant decree of Arnuwandas, Asmunikal and the tuhukantis Tudhaliyas).

Cat. 175 (treaty with the dignitaries of certain northern districts concluded by Arnuwandas, Asmunikal and the tuhukantis Tudhaliyas).

Cat. 178.10 (XXXI 103; this remarkable text — more probably a treaty than an instruction — has the external characteristics of a sealed land grant decree; Professor Güterbock communicated to me that the tablet clearly shows the Middle Hittite type of writing — see below Chapter III) <sup>14</sup>.

Cat. 179 ("Protocole de succession dynastique"; see for the importance of this text Miss Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 179 note 13; one of the

<sup>12</sup> Bibliographical references are given in Appendix A.

<sup>13</sup> Huhazalmas (Obv. : 2, 4 and 26) is already known from Cat. 155 (KBo V 7) Obv. : 6, I-NA MU. 1.KAM <sup>M</sup>Hu-u-ḫa-za-al-ma, and also from the newly published XL 110.

<sup>14</sup> See also the reference to Hurri land in line 18 — to be compared with the text restoration KUR Ḫ[urri] in Cat. 88 (XXIII 72) Rev. : 36, cf. Sommer, AU, p. 47. This text and Cat. 88 have more in common. The left rim of XXXI 103 may be restored as follows :

1 na-aš-ta ma-a-an LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Pa-a[ḫ-ḫu-wa NI-İŠ DINGIR-LIM]

2 [ša] r-ra-an-zi nu IT-TI <sup>PUTU</sup>ŠI[ .....]

3 nu <sup>PUTU</sup>ŠI-İŠ TU NI-İŠ DINGIR-LIM pár [-ku-iš .....]

4 Ū A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ma-al-ti[-ja .....]

5 QA-DU EREM.MEŠ-ŠU-NU Ū [ .....]

6 pa-an-kur-še[-et .....]

Maltiya (Malatya) is mentioned as <sup>URU</sup>Ma-al-di-ja in the list of LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI of Cat. 88 (XXIII 72) Rev. : 37; Mita of Pahhuwa is well-known from that text.

pieces assembled under this number — Cat. 179.6 — has been recognized as part of the Gasgaean treaty KBo XVI 27 and is given in transliteration by von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 134 ff. together with the rest of that tablet. Cat. 179.9 is now available as KBo XVI 24 (+) 25.

Cat. 180.2 (XXXVI 119, cf. Otten, MDOG 83 (1951), p. 55 note 7; two texts may be added on account of the personal name <sup>SAL</sup>Lalantiwahas occurring in both, XXXIV 58 — cf. Otten, l.c. and also Meriggi, *Fragmente*, p. 97 — and 203/f — a few lines have been quoted by Neu, *Interpretation*, p. 33)<sup>15</sup>.

Cat. 275 (prayer of Kantuzzilis).

Cat. 276 (royal prayer to the Sun-god mentioning Arzawa; for the importance of this text, see Carruba, *Wisurijanża*: p. 32).

Cat. 277 (prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmunikal) and the related KBo XII 132<sup>16</sup>.

Cat. 283 C (this prayer possesses a replica in more modern spelling; the old version refers to Kizzuwatna as a separate state; for the importance of this text, see Carruba, *Wisurijanża*, p. 46).

Cat. 354.1 (Asmunikal on the establishment of a mausoleum).

*C. Possibly Middle Hittite texts.* This group consists of the following compositions : KBo XVI 50 (a pledge of allegiance).

Cat. 85 (annals of Tudhaliyas II, cf. Gordon and Gurney as quoted above).

Cat. 86 (annals of Arnuwandas I; this composition refers to the same Assuwa campaign as Cat. 85 in the additional fragment XXIII 14).

Cat. 87 (treaty with nobles from Ismerikka, cf. Goetze as quoted above; see also Carruba, *Verbalendungen*, p. 89).

Cat. 88 (Mita of Pahhuwa; cf. Carruba, *Wisurijanża*, p. 32 and *Verbalendungen*, p. 89; the newly published piece XL 10 joins to XXIII 72 Rev. : 36-39 and confirms Forrer's text restoration for line 37, [<sup>URUP</sup>Pit-te-ja-r] i-ga, see below, p. 62 note 31).

Cat. 89 (indictment of Madduwattas, cf. Otten as quoted above).

Cat. 94 (treaty with Sunassuras (I ?), cf. Meyer, MIO I (1953), p. 121 ff. and Goetze, JCS XI (1957), pp. 71 and 72)<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> The fragments of Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8, 179.9 and those mentioned here refer to events in the period before Suppiluliumas I. The sons of Kantuzzilis and Himmuilis were admonished to protect a designated successor to the throne, cf. XXXVI 114 II : 12 ff. (179.5) as restored by Sommer-Otten, OLZ XLVIII (1953), c. 15 note 2 : (12) šu-me-e-ša DUMU.MEŠ [<sup>M</sup>Ĥi-m]u-i-li DUMU.MFŠ <sup>M</sup>Ká[n-tu-zi-li] (13) šu-me-ša a-pu-u-un pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma-a[t]. In XXXVI 119 (180 2) the name Tudhaliyas is written in lines 3, 4 and 7 and line 5 reads as follows : (5) [.....n]a-an-kán LUGAL-u-iz-ni iš-k[i-i]r, "and they anointed him for kingship" (cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*, p. 43).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Laroche, OLZ LIX (1964), c. 565, but Cat. 283 C/A should also be adduced.

<sup>17</sup> VIII 81 (Cat. 36.2 B) closely resembles XXXVI 127 (Cat. 94) and Meyer's suggestion that both fragments belong together certainly is attractive (MIO I (1953), pp. 121-123). Meyer thinks that both could stem from an early treaty of a Hittite king with an hypothetical Sunassuras I of Kizzuwatna, who was contemporary with Saussatar of Mitanni. But Meyer continues : "Die andere Möglichkeit

Cat. 95-97 (Gasgaean treaties, cf. Otten, Carruba and Neu as quoted above).  
 Cat. 99 (treaty of Arnuwandas (?) with the city of Ura; a similar place name not necessarily referring to the same town is mentioned in KBo XVI 47).

Cat. 124.6 (letter (?) about Kurustama; in my opinion it is possible to use XL 28 as a duplicate to KBo VIII 37 : KBo VIII 37 : 1 = XL 28 : 4-5; KBo VIII 37 : 2 = XL 28 : 6)<sup>18</sup>.

Cat. 170 (military instructions of a king Tudhaliyas)<sup>19</sup>.

Cat. 171.3 (archaic version of Cat. 170 rightly reckoned to that composition by Alp, *Instructions*, p. 383 ff.; cf. Carruba, *Wisurijanša*, p. 32).

Cat. 172 (a law-text of Tudhaliyas II mentioning the Assuwa campaign, cf. Otten, *Quellen*, p. 19 note 4).

Cat. 174 (instructions for the Mayor of Hattusas).

Cat. 176 (instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards, cf. Carruba, *Wisurijanša*, p. 32 on the strength of ma-a-ah-ḫa-an in XIII 1 = M).

Cat. 178.1 (law-text of a king Tudhaliyas).

*N.B.* In Chapter III on the philological evidence, I hope to show that Cat. 171.3 should be considered as an archaic version of Cat. 170. The same applies to a group of manuscripts for Cat. 176 as compared to the main version of that composition. This is the reason why I decided, in Chapter I (*Linguistical Evidence*), to use not all but only part of the manuscripts for both compositions. In the case of Cat. 174 I can find no grounds for differentiating between the various manuscripts. In its original form the composition should certainly go back to Arnuwandas I, however<sup>20</sup>. With respect to Cat. 178. 3 and 4, both of which edicts issued by a king Arnuwandas, I feel more uncertain. In Chapter I, cat. 174 will be used rather sparingly. Cat. 178.3 and 4 have been disregarded altogether.

*D. Texts from the time of Suppiluliumas I* : Cat. 32 d — Cat. 40, Cat. 171 (2 and 3 being excluded).

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ist jedoch nicht auszuschliessen, dass in beiden hethitischen Fragmenten eine frühere Fassung des bekannten akkadischen Suppiluliuma-Sunassura-Vertrages vorliegt — eines früheren, weil noch keiner der beiden Vertragspartner feste militärisch-politische Verbindungen einzugehen verpflichtet ist", Linguistic indications and philological arguments which will be duly mentioned in the following Chapters point to the first solution. Goetze preferred Meyer's first alternative, cf. JCS XI (1957), p. 71 note 191 and p. 72 XXXVI 127 is slightly more elaborate than VIII 81, as far as both pieces coincide. It seems a distinct possibility that VIII 81 either is or reflects an early draft, while XXXVI 127 represents an ameliorated and perhaps final version. See, too, p. 44 note 16 and p. 60 note 20.

<sup>18</sup> In his Introduction to this KUB-volume Klengel rightly compares both texts.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the appraisal by D.J. Lee, ArchOr XXXIV (1966), pp. 17-18 together with note 20.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Otten, Baghd. Mitt. III (1964), p. 92 : "Jedoch wird man nach Indizien die Abfassung der Instruktion in älterer Zeit erwägen dürfen, auch wenn in der Vielzahl der Textexemplare das Ergebnis jüngerer Abschriften vorliegt".

## I. LINGUISTICAL EVIDENCE

If the texts of group C — the disputed group — are really to be classified as Middle Hittite, they should show the same characteristics as the texts of group B, and both B and C should occupy a middle position between A and D. The grammatical correspondencies given below are of greater importance than the similarities in spelling, some of which have also been noted, because there is indeed, as has been repeatedly stated by Miss A. Kammenhuber, a change in spelling habits between the older periods (Old and Middle Hittite) and the Late Hittite Empire<sup>1</sup>. Though aware of the limited value of these data from spelling, I small nevertheless adduce them, since they may serve to connect groups B and C, one before the change in spelling habits referred to above and the other after it, if the customary dating of group C would be correct.

Unfortunately not all these items from spelling may profitably be enumerated under this heading. There is a special group of “free” spelling variants, linguistically totally indifferent but at the same time very significant from the philological point of view : a-ap-pa versus EGIR-pa, a-ap-pa-an as compared to EGIR (-pa)-an, ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an/ma-aḫ-ḫa-an against GIM-an, na-at-ta versus *Ū-UL*. These variations will be discussed later on, at the end of Chapter III. Here I shall limit the comparison to spelling items which seem to be of linguistical value (vowel changes; plene writing as a possible means to denote stress).

I am not yet completely convinced by the Luwian explanation of the -wani/-uni

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<sup>1</sup> A. Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 179 note 13 and *Altkeleinasische Sprachen*, p. 174 ff. At this point I warn the reader for the differences between my presentation and the opinion of Professor Kammenhuber. Miss Kammenhuber who was the first to apply a very similar approach to the texts of this period still adheres to the traditional order of the Hittite historical texts, witness her recent publications, *Altkeleinasische Sprachen*, pp. 131-132, 148; *Arier*, pp. 31-32, 37-38, 41-42, p. 45 note 13, p. 101 note 311; *Sprachen Kleinasien*, note 23 on pp. 116-117. She uses moreover a slightly different terminology : « Althethitisch », “Junghethitisch” and within the latter as an initial phase “archaisch-junghethitisch” and a final stage “spätes Junghethitisch”. According to her the latter is characterized by more or less strong signs of linguistic deterioration in addition to deliberate archaisms (“mehr oder minder starke sprachliche Verfallserscheinungen neben bewussten Archaisierungen”), cf. *Altkeleinasische Sprachen*, p. 132. She rightly stresses — and was, I believe, the first to realize the importance of this phenomenon — that her “archaisch-junghethitisch” still follows the spelling habits of Old Hittite. In this study I have adhered to the term “Mittelhethitisch” as coined in the Marburg School. Perhaps the question of the terminology can best be settled after a decision has been reached on the chronological order of the Hittite texts in general.

and -tani endings as defended by Carruba <sup>2</sup>. So far the Hittite evidence for these endings is much more impressive than the Luwian material. Furthermore, if they are Luwian, why then do they cluster around the Middle Hittite texts and why are they absent in tablets from the latest period, when the Luwian influence cannot have been less strong <sup>3</sup>? For the moment we should take them, I think, at their face value : 1) they never occur alone, but are always accompanied by their "normal" variants; 2) sometimes they can be found in what seem to be technical terms or solemn expressions; 3) they are represented in Old Hittite and in texts from the period of Suppiluliumas, but they are most common in the Middle Hittite texts, cf. Diagrams 1-3. This last point was first made by Otten, OLZ LVIII (1963), c. 252 together with note 3; see now H. Otten and V. Souček, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (SBT n° 3, Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 77-79.

Diagram 1

"Old Script"	-wani/-uni/-mani	-weni/-meni	-tani	-teni
Cat. 122.6	1	1		
Cat. 289			1	3
Cat. 324	9	21		

Diagram 2

Group B	-wani/-uni/-mani	-weni/-meni	-tani	-teni
KBo XV 10	3	1		
Cat. 175 B	5	7		
Cat. 179.9			1	1
Cat. 277	10	7		
Cat. 283 C	1	0		
XXXIV 58	3	1		

<sup>2</sup> O. Carruba, *Die Verbalendungen auf -wani und -tani und das relative Alter der heth. Texte*, Die Sprache XII (1966), p. 79 ff. and idem, *Die I. und II. Pers. Plur. im Luwischen und im Lykischen*, Die Sprache XIV (1968), p. 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The personal names of the Middle Hittite period might show similar variants, cf. <sup>M</sup>A-li-iḫ-ḫa-an-ni-iš (Cat. 155) but later <sup>M</sup>A-li-iḫ-ḫ-in-ni (cf. Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, no. 31), [<sup>M</sup>N]a-ri-ik-ka-i-li-ja (Cat. 179.6) but <sup>M</sup>Ne-ri-i[q-qa-i-li] (Cat. no. 155, cf. *Noms des Hittites*, no. 887). With respect to place names the same variation occurs : northern place names like Sapidduwa ("Deeds" and Mursilis' Annals) and Tinipiya (in the land of Washaniya, cf. the title deed for Sahurunuwas' descendants, XXVI 43 Obv. : 37 = Cat. 81) are also written Sipidduwa (Cat. 277 = von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, p. 156) and Tanipiya (Cat. 257 = Laroche, *Mythologie anatolienne*, p. 72).

Diagram 3

Group C	-wani/-uni/-mani	-weni/-meni	-tani	-teni
Cat. 88			3	9
Cat. 89	1	0		
Cat. 95	2	2	1	43
Cat. 96 (A/B)	1	1 + 1 (B)	1	3
Cat. 124.6			1	2
KBo XVI 50	2	4		

In a separate chart I have added a number of internal correspondencies (similarities in content matter and structure as well as a few lexical items) among the texts of group C. The main value of this evidence lies in the additional proof it affords for the thesis that the texts enumerated under C, be they Middle or Late Hittite, belong together. Some sidelines form connections with texts of groups B and D respectively.

*N.B.* With respect to the data of Column D, I want to make one important proviso : the remarks on the use in tablets later than Suppiluliumas I are necessarily incomplete, being mainly based on the greater compositions like Mursilis' Annals and "Deeds", his prayers, the "Apology" of Hattusilis III, prayers of Hattusilis III and Puduhepas and the treaties as edited by Friedrich in his *Staatsverträge*.

With respect to Column A the following numbers require an explanation :

- 3.2 = Cat. 3 b/c
- 20 = Cat. 20 b = XXXI 81
- 25.4 = Cat. 25 e = KBo III 28 = 2 BoTU 10  $\gamma$
- 28.12 = KBo XII 14
- 122.6 = KBo IX 73 + XXXVI 106, cf. Otten, ZA LV N.F. 21 (1962), p. 156 ff.
- 181/ : For a listing of all the manuscripts, see Friedrich,
- 184 *Die Hethitischen Gesetze*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 2-4. 184. Q (= q) has been copied again by Güterbock, cf. JCS XVI (1962), pp. 18-21.
- 289 = KBo VII 28, see now Friedrich, *Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani* = Rivista degli Studi Orientali XXXII (1957), p. 217 ff.



A	B	Chart
<i>Spelling :</i>		
i-šš-a-i 181 A(= i-šš-a-i 181 B)	iš-ša-at-ti : 275 iš-šu-ú-e[-ni] : 277 iš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un : 275; 276 iš-ši-iš-ta : KBo XV 10	
nu-uk-kán : 6; 324	nu-uk-ká[n] : 179.5 ka-a-aš-ša ("see, lo") : 175	
	ki-i-nu-ud-du : 275 (but also ki-nu-ud-du)	
ki-i-ša : 181 A; 181 B; 184 J		
ki-i-ša-ri : 5; 6; 324		
ki-i-ša[-at] : 25; 181 B		
ki-i-ša-ti : 27; 28.5		
ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti : 181 A	ki-i-ša-an-ta-at : KBo XVI 47	
ki-i-ša-ru : 21.2; 538	ki-i-ša-ru : 283 C (ki-ša-ru in 283 A)	
ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an : 122.6; 289	ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an : KBo XV 10; KBo XVI 47; 275; 276; 277	
ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da : 181 A (= ma-aḫ-ḫa-an : 181 B); 324	ma-aḫ-ḫa-an : 179.5; XXXIV 58; 275; 276; 277	
me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫi : 324	me-e-ma-i : 178.10	
	me-e-mi-iš-ta : KBo XV 10	
	me-e-mi-ir : KBo XV 10	
	me-e-ma-ú : 275; 283 C	
me-e-mi-iš-ki : 324	me-e-mi-iš-ki-mi : 275	
	me-e-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi : KBo XV 10	
	me-e-mi-iš-ki-it : KBo XV 10	
mi-im-ma-an-zi : 181 A (= me-im-ma-an-zi : 181 B)		
ne-e-a-ri : 27	ni-e-an-za : KBo XV 10	
ne-e-an : 24	ni-e-an-ta-an : KBo XV 10	
ne-e-pí-iš : 324 (also ne-pí-is)	[ne]-e-pí-ša-az : 276 B	
ne-e-pí-ša-aš : 308; 324	[ne]-e-pí-ši : 276 B	
ne-e-pí-ša : 324		
	KUR URUPí-i-t[a-aš-ša] : 283 C(=	
	KUR [URUP]í-ta-aš-ša in 283 A)	
ša-a-ku-wa : 25.4; 28.1; 308; 324		
[š]a-a-k[u-wa]-aš-ša-ru-uš : 184 Q		

I

C

D

iš-ša-at-ti : 89  
(iš-ša-at-ten : 170)

iš-ša-aḥ-ḫi : 38  
iš-ša-at-ti : 38  
iš-ša-at-te-ni : 38  
in later texts e-eš-ša- but  
Mursilis 279.4 iš-ši-iš[-ta]

ka-a-aš : 88; 95 (but also ka-a-ša)  
[ka]-a-aš-ša-wa-kán : 172  
ki-i-nu-an : 176 M  
ki-i-ša : 94  
ki-ša-ri : 87

ki-ša-an-ta-ru : 88  
ma-a-aḥ-ḫa-an : 88; 95; (97.4);  
171.3; 176 L and M  
ma-aḥ-ḫa-an : 88; 89; (97.1);  
(170); 176 A etc.

ki-ša-an-ta-a [t] : 33 B

ma-aḥ-ḫa-an everywhere in so far  
as GIM-an is not preferred

mi-im-ma-aš : 89  
ne-e-a-an-zi : 88  
ne-e-a-at : 89  
ne-e-an-ta-ti : 86  
ne-e-pí-iš : 96 A (= ne-pí-iš in B)  
ne-e-pí-ša-aš : 96 A, but  
ne-pí-ša-an in 96 B  
KUR URU Pí-i-ta-aš-ša : 89

But note mi-im-ma-aš in 47  
(Murs.)

ša-a-ku-it : 88 (but also  
IGI.ḪI.A-ŠU!)  
ša-a-ku-[w]a-at : 88

ša-a-ku-wa : 36.2 B (= 94 and C?)  
Murs./Hatt./ later treaties :  
IGI.ḪI.A(-wa)

## A

še-e-er-ši-it-wa : 181 A  
 še-e-er-ša-me-et : 324  
 there is a tendency for še-e-er-/ra-  
 to occur in frontposition

da-a-ir : 12; 14.2; 21.2; 25.4

da-a-la-i : 181 A  
 ta-a-la-i : 184 Q  
 ta-a-la-aḥ-ḥu-un : 5  
 da-a-li-iš : 5; 26.1  
 da-a-la : 6  
 te-e-kán : 324

## B

da-i-ú-en : KBo XV 10; KBo XVI 47  
 da-a-i-ú-en : KBo XV 10  
 da-a-i-ir : KBo XV 10; 283 C  
 (= da-a-ir in 283 A)  
 da-i-ir : KBo XV 10  
 da-a-i-e-er : 179.6  
 da-i-e-er : 179.6  
 da-a-la-i : KBo XV 10

da-a-li-i[r] : KBo XV 10

*Grammar :*

## 1) Nom./acc. plur. in -ēš

Nouns ḫal-ke-e-eš : 22.2  
 LÚ.MEŠpa-aḥ-ḥur-zi-e-eš : 9  
 LÚ.MEŠša-la-aš-ḫi-e-eš : 21.2  
 šar-di-e-eš : 181 A  
 Adj. [ka]-ru-ú-i-le-e-eš : 11  
 ka-ru-ú-e-le-e-eš : 308  
 me-eg-ga-e-eš : 21.2  
 da-aš-ša-u-e-eš : 3.2; 122.6

LÚ.MEŠḫi-lam-mi-e-eš : 354.1  
 [š]-it-ta-re-e-eš : 277  
 DUMU.MEŠšu-ul-le-e-eš : 179.6  
 ta-pa-ri-ia-li-i-e-e[š-š] a : 277  
 [a-ra-aḥ-z] é-ne-e-eš : 283 C  
 a-ra-u-e-eš : 354.1  
 a-aš-ša-u-e-eš : 283 C  
 i-da-a-la-u-e-eš : KBo XV 10  
 i-wa-ar-wa-al-li-i-e[-eš] : 155  
 pa-al-ḫa-a-e-eš : KBo XV 10  
 šal-la-e-eš : 179.8  
 šu-up-pa-e-eš : 277

## 2) 1. pers. sing. nom. Pers. pron. :

uga/uk : without exception

uga : KBo XVI 47; 275; 276; 277  
 ammuk : XXXIV 58 (?); 203/f

## C

## D

([š]a-a-ku-wa-aš-šar)

ša-ku-wa-aš-šar : 89

še-e-er : 89 (but also še-er)

še-er : more common

še-er : more common

da-i-ú-en : 88; 96

da-i-ú-e-en : 96 B

da-a-ir : 85; 89; 171.3

da-a-i-e[-er] : 97.2

da-i-e-er : 96

da-a-la-aḥ-ḥi : 171.3

(170 : da-a-la-aḥ-ḥi but also

ta-la-aḥ-ḥi)

da-a-la-i : 171.3

da-la-aḥ-ḥu-un : 85

te-e-kán : 96

te-e-kán : 38

ar-taḥ-ḥi-e-eš : 176 E

a-ú-wa-re-e-eš : 176 M

lu-uš-ta-ni[-i]-e-eš : 176 N

(cf. lu-uš-ta-ni-e-eš in 176 F)

za-ak-ki-i-e-eš : 176 N

ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-i-e[-eš] : 176 M

DINGIR.MEŠḤa-pí-re-e[-eš] : 95

DINGIR.MEŠLu-u-la-ḥi-e-eš : 95

ka-ru-ú-i-le-e-eš : 95

na-ak-ki-i-e-eš : 85

[DINGIR.MEŠḤa-pí]-re-e-eš : 38

me-eg-ga<sub>5</sub>-e-eš : 38

uga : 85; 96; 88; 89; 96; 99; (170)

ammuk : 89

ammuk : 33 B; 35 B; 38; 40.1

Murs. : ammuk; ukel; ukila

Muw. : uk; ammuk (uga also dat. !)

## B

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 3) 2. pers. plur. gen. Pers. pron. :<br>šumenzan : without exception <sup>4</sup>  | šumenzan : 179.9; 277   |
| 4) 3. pers. plur. nom. Dem./Pers.<br>pron. : kē : passim<br>apē : passim   | ki-i : KBo XVI 46; 179.5 (?)<br>ke-e : KBo XV 10; KBo XVI 31;<br>KBo XVI 45; 179.9<br>a-pé-e : KBo XVI 47, 179.9 (?)<br>a-pu-uš : 354.1 |
| 5) 3. pers. plur. gen. Dem./Pers.<br>pron. : kenzan : 14.2; 181 A  |   |
| 6) dat. sing. Enclitic Pers. pron. :<br>-še : everywhere in "Old Script"   | -se : 179.9 (exceptional), but usually<br>-ši   |
| 7) 3. pers. plur. nom. comm. gen.<br>Enclitic pron. : -e : everywhere<br>except in 181 B par. 31 (-at !)   | -at : KBo XVI 47; 179.4; 179.6;<br>179.9; 276; 277; 283 C; 354.1  |
| 8) 3. pers. plur. nom./acc. neut.<br>Enclitic pron. : -e or -at  | -e : 275<br>-at ; more common   |
| 9) 3. pers. plur. acc. comm. gen.<br>Enclitic pron. : predominantly<br>-uš. It seems as if the rise of<br>-aš was influenced by ...-ma/<br>-ja- and also by namma- | -uš : KBo XV 10; KBo XVI 47;<br>179.6; 179.7; 277<br>-aš : KBo XV 10; 277; 354.1  |
| 10) Possessive pronoun :   |   |
| -mi- : passim  | -mi- : 275; 276   |
| acc. -man : 6; 27; 28.4; 308 <sup>5</sup>  | acc. -man : 275 (= 274)   |
| -ti- : passim  | -ti- : 275; 276   |
| -ši- : passim  | -ši- : KBo XV 10; KBo XVI 47;<br>179.6; 275; 277  |
| acc. -šan : 4.1; 5; 6; 9; 21.2;<br>24; 27; 181 B; 184 J; 324; 538 <sup>5</sup>   |   |

<sup>5</sup> For this criterion see Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, p. 18.

C	D
	Hatt. : ammuk; ukila
šumenzan : 87; 88; 95; 96; (97.1)	šumenzan : 32 D; 38; 282 A/B (Murs.),
apenzan : 95	but šumella in 279.4 (Murs.).
ke-e : 87; 88; 96	kē : 38 (passim)
	apē : 38 III ; 27 (cf. Neu, Interpretation, p. 24 note 1)
	Murs./Hatt. : ku-u-uš
	a-pu-u-uš
ke-el : 94	apel : 35 B
ke-e-el : 89	
-še : 171.3 (exceptional), but usually -ši	-ši : passim (in 36.2 B -še, but this text belongs to Cat. 94 and group C)
-e : 172 (?)	-at : 33 B
-at : 88; 89; 96; 176 N	
-e : 176 B (ne-et-ta)	-e : 38 (ne-et-ta); until the youngest texts -e remains in use in order to differentiate ne-et-ta from na-at-ta, cf. D.J.N. Lee, ArchOr XXXIV (1966), p. 22 note 29
-at : more common	-aš : 35 B; 38
-uš : 85; 88; 89; 95; 172	Murs./Hatt./Later treaties exclusively -aš
-aš : 85; 88; 89; 95; 171.3; 176 E <sub>1,2</sub> , E <sub>2</sub> + L <sub>2</sub>	
-mi- : 85; 86; 88; 89; 124.6	-mi- : 38
acc. -man : 85; 124.6 (?)	acc. -min in 279.2 (Murs.)
-ti- : 89	acc. -tin in 11.71 (VBoT 1 !)
-ši- : 85; 87; 88; 89; 96; 172; 178.1 and also KBo XVI 50	-ši- : 171.4
	Sporadic examples in later texts

A	B
-šmi- : passim acc. -šman : 184 J; 184 Q	-šmi- : KBo XV 10; 283 C
11) Defective Dem. pron. : ši-i-el : 6	
12) Relative pron. acc. plur. comm. gen. : ku-i-uš : 17; 20	ku-i-uš : KBo XV 10; (274); 275; 283 C
13) 3rd pers. sing. Present mi-conj. -i-i->-i-e->-i-ja- <sup>6</sup> i-e-mi : 324 (but also i-ja-mi) i-iz-zi : 25.4; 122.6; 181 A; 181 B i-e-zi : 9; 181 A i-e-ez-zi : 6, 21.2; 18; 181 A; 181 B; 184 Q; 184 J ja-az-zi : 122.6 [i-ja]-az-zi : 21.2 i-e-en-zi : 21.2; 27 i-en-zi : 181 B ja-an-zi : 122.6 It seems as if already all the forms co-exist within Old Hittite, cf. šu-wa-ja-az-zi and [d]a-a-ja-az-zi in 184 Q ú-e-mi-iz-zi : 24; 122.6; 181 A ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi : 181 B; 181 J ú-e-mi-ja-az-zi : 24; 181 B	i-e-zi : 175 B i-e-ez-zi : 178.10; 179.9  i-ja-az-zi : 277  i-en-zi : 283 C (but i-ja-an-zi in 283 A)
i-e-et : 5; 6; 21.2; 24	nu-un-tar-ri-id-du : 179.9 nu-un-tar-ri-e-ed-du : 179.9 nu-un-tar-i-e-ed-du : 179.6 šar-ḫi-i-e-ed-du : 179.9 ar-nu-uš-ki-u-wa-ni : 277 ḫa-li-ih-li-iš-ki-u-wa-ni : 203/f ḫal-zi-wa-ni : 277 ḫa-an-da-u-ni : 277 ḫar-wa-ni : XXXIV 58
14) 1. pers. plur. in -wani : <sup>7</sup> ak-ku-us-ke-e-wa-ni : 122.6 e-du-wa-a-ni : 308  ḫar-wa-ni : 28.9; 324	

<sup>6</sup> For this criterion see already Carruba, *Kratylos* VII (1962), p. 157; Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 13-14; Carruba, *Verbalendungen*, pp. 83, 84-85, 86; Friedrich, *JCS* XXI (1967), pp. 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> See especially the articles by Carruba referred to on p. 8 note 2.

C  
-šmi- : 85; 96; 124.6

ši-e-ta-ni : 89

ku-i-uš : 88 (cf. ku-i-uš-ga in  
the same text); 174

i-e-ez-zi : 95

i-en-zi : 88

da-a-ja-az-zi : 88  
tu-u-re-e-ez-zi : 95  
ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi : 95  
ú-e-mi-az-zi : 178.1  
ú-e-mi-ja-az-zi : 171.3; 176 M  
i-e-et : 85 B; 89 (but note  
i-ja-at in 88)  
še-eš-ki-e-ed-du : 176 M

ḫar-wa-ni : KBo XVI 50

D

ku-i-e-eš : 35 B

i-ja-mi : 38  
i-e-ši : 38 (but also i-ja-ši)  
i-e-zi : 38  
i-e[ez-zi] : 38 (but also i-ja[-zi]  
and i-ja-az-zi)  
But note i-e-ez-zi in 279.2 (Murs.)

i-en-zi : 38

ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi : 36.2 B (= 94 and C)  
šu-ú-i-e-ez-zi : 36.2 B (= 94 and C)  
But note ti-i-e-et in 284 A (Murs.)  
and i-e?[-et] as restored in 279.1  
(colophon; also Murs.)

a-ú-ma-ni : 117. 1 (VBoT 1)



## A

pa-a-i-wa-ni : 308  
 pa-a-i-wa-a-ni : 308  
 pa-i-wa-ni : 324  
 pá-r-šu-wa-ni : 324

]aḫ-ḫu-wa-ni : 122.6

15) 2nd pers. plur. in -tani :

iš-ta-ma-aš-ta-ni : 23.1

pa-it-ta-ni : 23.1

[x]-as-nu-us-ki-it-ta-ni : 289

## B

i-ia-u-ni : 283 C <sup>8</sup>

ku-un-ga-aš-ki-u-wa-ni : 277

li-la-a-ri-iš-ki-wa-ni : KBo XV 10

li-in-ga-nu-ma-ni : 277

me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-ni : XXXIV 58; 277

pa-a-i-wa-ni : 175 B

ši-pa-an-du-wa-ni : 175 B

ti-ia-u-ni : 277

da-šu-wa-ḫu-wa-ni : 175 B

te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ma-ni : 175 B

ú-wa-te-wa-ni : 175 B

zi-ik-ki-u-wa-ni : 277

SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-ḫu-ni : 277

SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ki-u-w[a-ni] : 277

]wa-ni : XXXIV 58

nu-un-tar-ri-it-ta-ni : 179.9

ku-e-u-e-en : KBo XVI 47 <sup>9</sup>

16) 3rd pers. sing. Preterite ḫi- conj. : the overwhelming majority end in -š. I cite only examples of verbs also showing -šta in later times : akkiš, ḫalzaiš, ḫulliš, išḫḫiš, maniyahḫiš nāeš/naiš, paiš, penniš, šakkiš, šun-naš, dāiš/daiš, dāliš, tarnaš, LÚA-GRIG-ḫiš, but note memišta, [lu]k-kišta, ulešta

tarnaš : KBo XV 10, but note

iššišta : KBo XV 10

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### Medio-Passive :

Typical for Old and Middle Hittite is a dynamic use of the Medio-Passive (not reflexive or passive, but about synonymous with the Active in transitive function), cf. Neu, *Interpretation*, passim, and *Grundlagen*, p. 54 ff. and 106 ff. :

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Carruba, *Die I. und II. Pers. Plur.*, p. 18 note 10 a.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Neu, IF LXXIII (1968), p. 173 in his important review on von Schuler's book, *Die Kaškäer*.

## C

ḥar-ru-wa-ni : 95

ḥa-at-ra-a-u-ni : 89

iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-wa-ni :

KBo XVI 50

## D

[li-in-k] i-iš-ki-u-wa-ni : 171.1

pa-a-i-u-wa-ni : 38

pa-a-i-wa-a?-n[i] : 38

wa-al-ḥu-wa-ni : 95

] -wa-ni : 96

ma-li-iš-ku-nu-ut-ta-n[i] : 88

na-iš-ta-ni : 88

[ta-aš-nu]-ut-ta-ni : 88

ú-wa-te-et-ta-ni : 95; 96 B

ú-wa-at-te-et-ta-ni : 96 A

ku-e-u-en : 86

iš-ta-ma-aš-ta-ni : 171.5

ḥal-za-iš : 88

tarnaš : 89

but note : paišta : 88

memišta : 89

dalešta : 89

unništa : 89

šunneš : 33 B

Hatt. : šunnaš/šunništa

Murs. : tarniš

Hatt. : tarniš/tarništa

Murs./Hatt. : cf. nai-/pai-/tai-

Murs. : dalešta/talešta

Murs./Hatt. : unnešta

A	B
huet-/huittiya- A : 12; 14.1; 24; 308 M : 5; 184 Q; 184 J	huittiya- A : 179.2; 276
parh- A : 4.1; 21.2	parh- A : KBo XVI 47 M : 179.2; 179.5
šarra- A : 122.6; 181 A; 181 B M : 6; 9; 25.4	šarra- A : KBo XVI 47; 155; 178.10; 179.6; 277 M : KBo XVI 47; 179.1; 275; 283 C (active in 283 A)
	zahhiya- A : KBo XVI 47; 178.10; 277; 283 C M : KBo XVI 47; 175; 179. 6 (?)

## 18) Verbs in -aḥḥ- :

3rd pers. sing. Present in -i :

allapaḥḥi : 324

happinaḥḥi : 268

inaraḥḥi : 538

šuppiyaḥḥi : 184 Q; 184 J

walkiššar[(aḥḥi)] : 184 J/K

tatraḥḥi : 178.10

3rd pers. sing. Preterite in -š<sup>10</sup> :

išiḥḥiš : 24

iškunahḥiš : 6

maniyahḥiš : 22.2; 24

watarnaḥḥiš : 26.1

but note :

[kurur]iyaḥḥa : 8.2

maniḥḥa : 308

19) nai-/pai-/tai- : <sup>11</sup>

2nd pers. sing. Present

<sup>10</sup> See Sommer, *HAB*, p. 222.<sup>11</sup> Similar conclusions were already published by Miss Kammenhuber, *Altkeinasische Sprachen*, p. 235 ff. and especially pp. 237-238.

C	D
huittiya- A : 85	huittiya- A : 38 (Murs. : A and Hatt. : A/P)
parḥ- A : 89; 96; 178.1 M : 89	Always active, as far as I have been able to ascertain
šarra- A : 88; 89 M : 87; 88; 89; 96; 178.1	šarra- A : 35 B; 38 Murs. : šarra- A/R (Active or Reflexive)
zaḥḥiya- A : 88; 89; 95; 99  M : 85; 88; 89; (97.1); (170); 171.3	zaḥḥiya- A : 35 B  M : 171.5 Murs. : zaḥḥiya- A/R Hatt. : zaḥḥiya- A
maniyahzi : 95	Murs. : [kuru]riyahzi Muw. : ḤUL-ahzi In later treaties :
watarnahḥi : 171.3	idalawahzi kururiyahzi
	Murs. : išiyahṭa idalawahṭa kururiyahṭa šakiyahṭa dašwahṭa watarnahṭa ĪR-ahṭa Muw. : ĪR-ahṭa Hatt. : katterahṭa kuru[riyahṭa] šallakartahṭa Treaties : kururiyahṭa
[t]atraḥḥaš : 85 watarnahṭa : 89	

A	B
na-it-ti : 6	[p]a-it-ti? : 179.2
ta/da-it-ti : 25.4; 26.1	
2nd pers. sing. Preterite	
pa-it-ta : 6	na-it-ta : 275
3rd pers. sing. Preterite	
[na-a]-eš : 27	na-iš : 275
na-i-iš : 4.1	
pa-iš : 4.1; 5; 8.1; 11; 24; 26.1;	pa-iš : KBo XVI 47; 275; 276
26.2; 308	
pa-a-iš : 24; 308	
da-iš : 7; 24	da-iš ; KBo XV 10; 179.6
da-i-iš : 24	
da-a-iš : 3.2; 4.1; 4.2; 6; 11;	
12; 21.2; 24; 28.12	

### *Syntax*

- 1) "Directive" in -a :
 

nouns : passim	karuiliyatta : 276
pers. names : passim	la-aḫ-ḫa : KBo XVI 47; 179.9, but
place names : passim	la-aḫ-ḫi : 175
In Old Hittite both URU----a and	The construction is preserved
URU----i uwa-/uwate- can be	in a few expressions
found	
poss. pron. : passim	
- 2) "Adverb" in stressed frontposition :
 

In Old Hittite andan, ištarna/i,	Apparently the construction is
katta/i, piran and šer	losing in importance; few exam-
katti-mi : 5; 26.1; 26.3; 289	ples with adverbs other than
	katta/i
katti-ši : 14.2; 20; 26.1	katti-ši ; 179.6; 275; 276
katti-šmi : 3.2	

C	D
na-it-ti : 89(?); 95(?)	Treaties : na-it-ti/ne-ia-ti Murs. : pa-iš-ti/pé-eš-ti Muw./Hatt. : pé-eš-ti Murs. : da-it-ti
pa-it-ta : 89	Murs. : pa-iš-ta Muw. : pé-eš-ta Hatt. : da-iš-ta
na-iš : 89	Murs. : na-eš-ta/na-iš-ta Hatt. : na-a-iš
pa-iš : 89; 178.1 but note pa-iš-ta : 88	Murs. : pa-iš/pa-iš-ta/pé-eš-ta/ pí-iš-ta Hatt. : pa-iš/pé-eš-ta
da-iš : 89 da-a-iš : 85; 172	Murs./Muw./Hatt. : da-a-iš For the doubtful forms ta-it-ta and pa-it-ta in XXIII 70! III : 14 and 13, see Neu, <i>Interpretation</i> , p. 161

la-a-aḫ-ḫa : 89	Murs. : laḫḫi
la-aḫ-ḫa : 95	Hatt. : laḫḫi
tapuša : 86 : 97.4	Murs. : šenaḫḫa, tapuša and also karuiliyatta
Note URU----i uwate-/ arḫa uwa- or ar- : 85; 86; 172	Muw. : šenaḫḫa, tapuša and also ŠÀ-ta Hatt. : tapuša, ŠÀ-ta
pár-na-aš-ša : 96	
KUR-e-aš-ša : 85	
katti-mi : 89	katti-mi : 38
katti-ti : 89	Murs. : ištarni-šmi
katti-ši : KBo XVI 50; 88; 96; (97.3)	
katti-šmi : 96; (97.3)	

## A

## B

## 3) Particles

Examples of variation -ašta/-kan within one text (in the chosen examples preverbs are absent)

išpart- : without particle

karp- : without particle

kuen- : -kan or 0

šarra- : -asta or 0

šarra- -ašta/-kan : 155, cf.

šarra- -ašta : 179.9; 275; 276; 277;  
283 C

šarra- -kan : KBo XVI 47; 179.6

In my opinion the interchange between -ašta and -kan in the Middle Hittite texts — an interchange which can also be seen between the various recensions of one composition (cf. Chapter II) — proves that -ašta and -kan can “fill” the same “slot”. Examples like those given here, where apparently both could occur with originally an appreciable difference in meaning, probably formed the starting-post for the gradual replacement of -ašta by -kan (see on this development Carruba, *Orientalia* XXXIII (1964), p. 436 note 1 and D.J.N. Lee, *ArchOr* XXXIV (1966), pp. 10-11 and Appendix B).

## 4) ma-a-an temp./cond., cf.

A. Hahn, *Language* XX (1944), p.  
91 ff. and R. Sternemann, *MIO*  
XI (1966), p. 231 ff. and p. 377 ff.

ma-a-an cond. : KBo XVI 45, 46 and  
47; 94; 175; 178.10; 179.3; 179.  
5; 179.6; 179.9; 275; 276; 283 C;  
354.1

ma-a-an comp. : 276; 283 C

ma(-a)-aḫ-ḫa-an comparative :  
passim

ma(-a)-aḫ-ḫa-an comp. : KBo XV 10;  
KBo XVI 47; 179.9; 275; 276;  
277; XXXIV 58

ma(-a)-aḫ-ḫa-an temp. : 277

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## C

išpart- -ašta/-kan : 89  
 karp- -ašta/-kan : 178.1  
  
 kuen- -ašta/-kan : 85; 89,  
 cf. kuen- -ašta : (97.1); 178.1  
 šarra- -ašta/-kan : 88  
 šarra- -ašta : 96; 178.1  
 šarra- -kan : 89; 96

## D

Murs./Hatt. : išpart- -kan  
 Murs. : karp- -kan/0  
 Hatt. : karp- 0  
 Murs./Hatt. : kuen- -kan  
  
 Murs. : šarra- -kan

ma-a-an temp. : 85; 88; 172  
 ma-a-an cond. : 87; 88; 89; 94;  
     95; 96; 124.6; 171.3; 172;  
     176 L and M; 178.1; KBo  
     XVI 50  
 ma(-a)-aḥ-ḥa-an comp. : 88; 89;  
 171.3

In later times ma-a-an usually is conditional, but some sporadic examples of temporal use are still to be found, cf. Sternemann, l.c.

Both uses co-exist in later time, cf. Sternemann, l.c.

ma(-a)-aḥ-ḥa-an temp. : 85; 88; 89;  
 95; 171.3; 176 L, M and N

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## Chart II

A. *Similarities in content matter* :

- a. Cat. 87 (XXIII 68) II : 2-6  $\cong$  88 Rev. : 67 ff.  $\cong$  95 (XXIII 77) Obv. : 90-92 : only free men, not slaves or mercenaries, should join the king's army.
- b. Cat. 88 Rev. : 8 (15?), a-ap-pa <sup>síG</sup>ma-iš-ta[-an ma-š]i-wa-an-ta-an <sup>Ú-UL</sup>ap[-pa-an-zi]  $\cong$  KBo XVI 47 Obv. : 8, [ma]-a-an <sup>síG</sup>ma-iš-ta-an-na ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an wa-aš-ta-an-zi.
- c. Cat. 88 Rev. : 48 ff.  $\cong$  99 (XXVI 29 + XXXI 55) : 16 ff. : there should be no consideration for relatives or acquaintances amidst the enemy forces (cf. Klengel, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 228).
- d. Cat. 95 (XXIII 77) Obv. : 52 ff.  $\cong$  171.3 II : 10 : the case of the fugitive who brings property along (cf. Alp, *Instructions*, p. 414).
- e. Cat. 172 III : 3 ff.  $\cong$  176 M IV : 7 (= von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, p. 62) : measures for the protection of royal granaries (cf. von Schuler, *Hethitische Königserlasse*, p. 456).
- f. Cat. 178.1 I : 10 ff. ; II : 22 ff.  $\cong$  179.9 (KBo XVI 25) I : 15 : a typical enumeration of high officials (cf. von Schuler, *Würdenträgerliste*, p. 217 note 3).
- g. Cat. 178.1 I : 19 ff.  $\cong$  179.9 (KBo XVI 25) III : 6 ff. : punishment of him — be it a magnate or an ordinary soldier — who is responsible for the execution of an innocent man (cf. Otten, *Inhaltsübersicht* KBo XVI, p. V).
- h. Cat. 178.1 I : 10 ff., na-aš A-NA <sup>PUTU-ŠI</sup>a-a-ra e-eš-du, “and he (the culprit) shall appertain to the king” (“der (Schuldige) soll dem König rechtens zustehen”, von Schuler, *Hethitische Königserlasse*, p. 458); I : 24, na-at-ta-at-ši a-a-ra, “and it does not appertain to the king” (“Ihm (dem König) (steht) es nicht rechtens (zu)”, von Schuler, *ibidem*, p. 459)  $\cong$  179.9 (KBo XVI 25) III : 13, na-at-še a[-a-ra e-eš-tu], “and it shall appertain to him” (see also *ibidem* III : 20, a-a-ra e-eš-tu, in a broken context).

B. *Similarities in structure* :

- a. Gods as witnesses in the beginning of the text :

C : Cat. 87 (XXVI 41) I : 4 ff.	D : Cat. 38 I § 7 : 41 — End of Column
95 (XXIII 77) Obv. : 2 ff.	39 I ! : 6 ff. (another Hayasa
96 (KBo VIII 35) II : 8 ff.	treaty)
170 (XXVI 11) I : 7 ff.	171.1 (XXVI 57) I : 11 ff.
	(171.5 (XXIII 82) Obv.).

Von Schuler, *Sonderformen*, p. 450 and *Staatsverträge und Dokumente*, p. 38 together with note 28, sees in this feature a typical characteristic of treaties (and instructions, cf. Cat. 170 and 171 !) concluded with a group of persons (“Die veränderte Stellung der Götterliste könnte durch die uns im einzelnen

unbekannte Verfahrensweise bei der Vereidigung einer Mehrzahl von Personen bedingt sein").

b. Lists of those who are put under oath :

C : Cat. 87 (XXIII 68) II : 11 ff.

88 Rev. : 32 a/32 ff. (see already Obv. : 93 ff.)

96 (KBo VIII 35) II : 25 ff.

99 (XXVI 29 + XXXI 55) : 1 ff.

This feature is conditioned by the circumstance that in these texts the other contracting party consists of a group of persons, cf. von Schuler, *Sonderformen*, p. 446 ff. and *Staatsverträge und Dokumente*, p. 38.

c. Direct discourse of those who are put under oath (collective oath) : according to von Schuler, *Hethitische Königserlasse*, p. 458 together with note 85, Cat. 178.1 is formulated as a DUGUD-oath, witness the first person plural of the present tense in line 5 (for the DUGUD-oath see Cat. 175 and cf. *Staatsverträge und Dokumente*, p. 48).

*N.B.* For the points mentioned under this heading — clearly valid for the išhiul both as a treaty *and* an instruction — it is hard to decide whether they are merely dependent on the type of text — a contract with a group of persons —, or whether in addition to this a historical factor is also involved. It could be that Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas instead of using "international treaties" purposely applied a different type of text which had been developed for internal administrative use. In that case the connections with texts of the early Suppiluliumas' period might be of particular significance, because these might indicate that even Suppiluliumas still pursued a similar policy.

C. *Lexical correspondencies* :

a-pé-e-ez-zi-ja : C Cat. 88 Rev. : 63; 95 (XXIII 77) I : 54

QATI ešharnu- : C Cat. 88 Rev. : 29, 29-30, 64-65; 89 Obv. : 26-27; Rev. : 19; 47 (cf. already Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 76 note 304)

ḫuta- : B Cat. 179.9 (KBo XVI 25) I : 46

C Cat. 171.3 I : 5

D Cat. 171.5 (XXI 47 + XXIII 82) IV : 13

pangarit ninink- : C Cat. 89 Obv. : 45; (97.4 : 18); 99 (XXVI 29 + XXXI 55) : 15

linkiya kattan tai- : B KBo XVI 47 I : 15-16; 179.6 I : 22; III : 9, 15; IV : 9 (?), 19-20, 24-25, 28

C Cat. 88 Rev. : 2, 37; 89 Obv. : 13-14, 27, 28, 43; Rev. : [15], 48 (?); 95 (XXIII 77) Obv. : 1; 96 (KBo VIII 35)

II : 28-29, 31, 31, 32-33, 34, 35 (?); III : 5; (97.2 : 10)

D Cat. 38 I § 6 : 38-39 and IV § 45 : 50-51

See in this respect von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 116 : “Die aktivische Wendung findet sich ausserhalb von Kaššäerverträgen m. W. nur noch in Urkunden aus der letzten Zeit des Neuen Reiches : XXIII 72 Rev. 2, 37 (vgl. E. Laroche, OLZ 1957. 135) und *Madd.* Vs. 27 ; vgl. aber auch *Hukk.* IV 50 f.”

karši zahḫiya- : B Cat. 175 (XXXI 44) II : 14-15 ; 179.6 IV : 13  
C Cat. 88 Rev. : 40, [41], 66 ; 89 Obv. : 29, 30, 31, 32 ;  
99 (XXVI 29 + XXXI 55) : 11, 16 ; 171.3 I : 5  
D Cat. 171.5 (XXI 47 + XXIII 82) IV : 17

EREM.MEŠ-(n)a- : A Cat. 7 (XXXVI 100) Rev. : 6 ; 324 : passim (cf. Neu, IF LXXIII (1968), p. 175)<sup>12</sup>  
B Cat. 179.6 III : 9, 10, 16 ; 179.9 (KBo XVI 25) I : 6, 31  
C Cat. 88 Rev. : 18 ; 96 (KBo VIII 35) III : 5

See in this respect von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 116 and Neu in his review, l.c.

ḫUTU-ŠI-iš B Cat. 179.9 (KBo XVI 25) I : 46 ; IV : 62  
D Cat. 38 I § 3 : 15 ; IV § 43 : 45 ; 171.4 (XXI 41) : 9  
(all three passages show ḫUTU-ŠI-in)

A-ḫI-TI(ĪA/ŠU) B Cat. 275 Obv. : 16, 17  
C Cat. 89 Obv. : 56

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<sup>12</sup> But see H. Otten and V. Souček, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (SBT n° 8, Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 81-82 for the interpretation EREM.MEŠ-n + -an. On the basis of other Old Hittite passages I also decided for the existence of a particule -an, cf. p. 31 note 4 and p. 32.

## II. THE LINGUISTICAL INTERPRETATION OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS

As was stated in the Introduction, this alternative hypothesis for the distribution of the Hittite historical texts is based on two assumptions, first that the Hittite language shows a gradual development from the oldest composition (Anittas) over Old and Middle Hittite texts up to the later and last ones just before the final destruction of the capital around 1200 B.C., and secondly that the Hittite scribes sometimes adapted their copies for actual use to the more modern usage of their own days as regards spelling and language (e.g. laws, instructions, official prayers, festival texts and mythological interpolations in rituals). The first assumption is a fairly logical one : the language is bound to change during such a long stretch of time (about five centuries in all). The linguistical evidence presented in the preceding chapter gives a representative — although by no means complete — selection of those characteristics in which this development can be most easily spotted.

But the second assumption — i.e. that the Hittite scribes sometimes “modernized” their copies for actual use — requires some adstruction too. Perhaps I may start out by pointing to Sternemann’s article *Temporale und konditionale Nebensätze des Hethitischen* (MIO XI (1966), pp. 231 ff. and 377 ff.) and to the joint article *Kleine Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Fassung der hethitischen Gesetze* (ArchOr XXXIII (1965), pp. 1-18), written by Carruba, Souček and Sternemann. In both articles a similar approach was fruitfully applied to the different versions of the Hittite Laws. Chart III may serve to summarize their findings as far as the differences between copy A and related manuscripts for Tablet I of the Laws are concerned as compared to the main later version (manuscript B). I am not now concerned with the late Parallel-Version, but I have enlarged their material in width by the inclusion of several additional data.

Chart III

	A	B
<i>Spelling :</i>		
	i-iš-ša-i (§ 41)	iš-ša-i
	i-iš-te[-en] (§ 55)	e-eš-te-en
	mi-im-ma-an-zi (§ 55)	me-im-ma-an-zi (sic !)
	še-e-er-ši-it-wa (§ 95)	še-er-wa-aš-ši
<i>Grammar :</i>		
1) 3rd pers. dat.	-še (passim)	-ši (but -še preserved in

sing. Enclitic pers. pron.		§§ 11, 23, 28 A and 95)
2) 3rd pers. plur. nom. comm. gen. Enclitic pron.	-e (§§ 49, 53)	-e (§§ 49, 53) but -at (3 x) in the additional par. 31
3) 3rd pers. plur. acc. comm. gen. Enclitic pron.	-uš (§ 79)	-aš
4) 3rd pers. sing. Present mi-conj. <sup>1</sup>	.i-iz-zi/.i-i-iz-zi; see also i-e-e[z-zi] (§ 55)/i-e-zi (§ 26)	.i-iz-zi preserved in §§ 43, 46, 48, 78, 80, but else- where .i-i-e-ez-zi/.i-ja-az- zi/.i-ja-zi
5) 3rd pers. sing. Present verbs in -ahh- <i>Syntax</i> :	da-šu-wa-ah-ḫi (§§ 7, 8)/ta-šu-wa-ah-ḫi (§ 77)	da-šu-wa-ah-ḫi (§§ 7, 8) but [ta]-šu-wa-ah-zi in § 77
a) Gen. - noun - Poss. pron. <sup>2</sup>	ÌR-na-aš na-aš-ma GEMÉ-aš QA-AZ-ZU na-aš-ma GÌR- ŠU (§ 12) LÚ.ULÛ.LU-aš EL-LAM- aš KIR <sub>4</sub> -še-et (§ 13)	ÌR-na-an na-aš-ma GEMÉ- an QA-AZ-ZU na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU LÚ.ULÛ.LU-an EL-LAM KIR <sub>4</sub> -še-et
b) Adverb in stressed frontposition	še-e-er-ši-it-wa šar-ni- ik-mi (§ 95) iš-ḫa-a-aš-ši-š[a še-er- ši-i]t šar-ni-ik-zi (§ 99)	še-er-wa-aš-ši šar-ni-ik- m[i] iš-ḫa-aš-še-ša še-er šar- ni-ik-zi
c) Change/Addition of particles <sup>3</sup>	0 ..... an-da ši-it-ta- ri-iz-zi (§ 40) nu ..... an-da ši-it-ta- ri-iz-zi (§ 41) ták-ku ÌR-aš SAL-na[-an da-a-i] (§ 32 A) ták-ku ÌR-aš GEMÉ-an da-a-i (§ 33)	nu-za ..... an-da ši-i[a- at-t]a-ri-ja-zi nu-za ..... an-da ši-ja- at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi ták-ku-za ÌR-iš SAL-an DAM-in? da-a-i ták-ku-za ÌR-iš GEMÉ-an da-a-i

<sup>1</sup> See the beautiful paradigm in Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the remarks by Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks by Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 8-10 (-za) and pp. 10-13 (-kan).

	nu-uš-še-an <sup>4</sup> an-da da-a-i (§ 78)	nu-uš-ši-kán an-da da-a-i
	[a]n-da-aš-še .....	an-da-ja-aš-ši-kán? .....
	pa-a-i (§ 70)	... pa-a-i
d) Change/Addition of conjunctions	0 in a coordinated clause	nu (§§ 9, 40, 41, 55, 77 A, 77 A)
	0 in a main clause	nu-za (§ 40)
		nu (§§ 40, 41, 41, 42, 94)
		nu-uš-ši (§§ 20, 44A)
	ta (§ 47 B)	omitted in main clause
	ta-aš (§ 40)	na-aš
	ta-aš-še (§ 47 A)	na-an-ši
e) takku > man <sup>5</sup>	takku (§§ 40, 41)	ma-a-an

In order to make my point clearer and in an attempt to widen the scope of this study I shall continue with a few examples of modernization drawn from a mythological text, XVII 10 (Cat. 258 I A), the most important manuscript for the Telibinus Myth. In my opinion this tablet constitutes a copy of a ritual from the beginning of the Empire period, in which an Old Hittite myth had been incorporated <sup>6</sup>. Both the spelling and the language of the mythological interpolation go back to the Old Hittite period. This also holds good for the Storm-god version of essentially the same myth (Cat. 261) <sup>7</sup>. Other mythological texts, and some rituals too, show all the characteristics of the Old Hittite language. Fortunately there are important indications in their content matter which point in the same direction : 1. the gods mentioned in these texts all belong to the Hattian pantheon and not to the distinctly later Hurrian layer of Hittite religion (cf. the subtitle chosen for Laroche's collection : *Mythologie anatolienne*); 2. the place names mentioned in some of them - see e.g. Nerik, Tarukka and Tinipiya in Cat. 257 — belong to those northern regions which were lost to the Gasgaean tribes in the beginning of the Empire period.

<sup>4</sup> In *Bemerkungen*, p. 11 by Carruba et alii, a text-emendation to <-ga>-an is proposed in order to eliminate this anomaly but there happen to be more examples of this particle -an (see a forthcoming article on my part, *A rare particle -an in Old Hittite : origin, use and implications*).

<sup>5</sup> See Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 5-7 with bibliographical references.

<sup>6</sup> See already Carruba, *Wisurijanša*, p. 32 for the consistently used spelling ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an on this tablet; see, too, the end of Chapter III.

<sup>7</sup> With two exceptions (XXXVI 71 : 6 and XXXIII 26 : 11) copy C even consistently writes na-at-ta, cf. Diagrams 11-12 of Chapter III.

## Chart IV

## XVII 10

*N.B.* I have selected my examples from those parts which are clearly mythological in character : I : 1-39; II : 33-36; III : 1-12 and 28-34; IV : 1-7 and 14-26. The surrounding sections belong to the mugawar, the supplication, as described by Laroche, *La Prière hittite*, p. 22.

- Spelling : 1) consistently ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an (also in the parts belonging to the ritual, but twice — for reasons of space — Laroche restores GIM-an, II : 24, 25, cf. *Mythologie anatolienne*, p. 93)
- 2) many stressed plene writings, e.g. ki-i-ša-ti (I : 18), te-e-kán (II : 34)
- 3) mi-im-ma-aš (I : 8, 9)
- 4) ú-wa-an-ti-wa-an-ta-az (II : 33), cf. ú-wa-aš-ta-i (Cat. 25.4), ú-wa-ar-ka-an-ta-an (Cat. 4.1), ú-wa-a-ar-ra (Cat. 27)
- 5) free variantion between EGIR-pa and a-ap-pa (in the texts as a whole, i.e. including the ritual, first EGIR-pa in I : 27; II : 8; III : 3, and afterwards only a-ap-pa in III : 27; IV : 14, 19, 20).
- Grammar : I 3. pers. plur. nom. Dem./Pers. pron. : apē (cf. a-pí-ja in I : 15)
- II 3. pers. plur. nom. comm. gen. Enclitic pron. : -e (I : 20)
- III 3. pers. plur. acc. comm. gen. Enclitic pron. : -uš (IV : 25)
- IV acc. Poss. pron. 3rd pers. sing. : -ša-an (III : 11, 11, 12)
- V Dynamic Medio-Passive form : a-uš-ta-at (II : 35), ḥu-e-ez-ta (IV : 1, 2)
- Syntax : a) Directive in -a : pár-na-aš-ša (IV : 20)
- b) Adverb in stressed frontposition : kat-ti-ti (IV : 1)
- c) Particle -an <sup>8</sup> : an-da-da-an ḥar-ak-zi (IV : 17)
- d) Conjunction šu : ša-aš (I : 34)
- Lexical use : A eš- Active “to sit” (III : 30), cf. Cat. 21.2; 308; 324
- B ḥuet- (instead of huittiya-), cf. ḥu-e-ez-ta (IV : 1, 2), cf. ḥu-e-et-ti-an-ta in copy Q of Tablet II of the Laws, par. 82, III : 6 in “Old Script”
- C lelaniya- (II : 33; IV : 4), cf. copy A of Tablet I of the Laws, par. 38, II : 14, le-e[-la]-ni-at-ta  $\cong$  B kartimmiya- (in the ritual kartimmiya- is regularly used!)

Both texts — XVII 10 and the Storm-god version — may be compared to other, slightly modernized versions, one of which is connected with the name of Asmunikal, wife of Arnuwandas I and well-known queen of the Middle Hittite period, and another with the name of queen Harapsili (see Chart V).

<sup>8</sup> See p. 31 note 4.

## Chart V

XVII 10 (Laroche, *Myth. anatolienne*, p. 89 ff.)      The God of Queen Asmunikal (Laroche, *Myth. anatolienne*, p. 119 ff. = Cat. 262.1 etc.)

Change/Addition  
of particles :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a) <i>I-NA</i> TÜR an-da UDU.ĤI.A KI!<br>MIN!   | [ḫ]i-li-iš-ša-an UD[U.ĤI.A<br>ú-i-šu-ri-ja-at-ta-ti]   |
| b) <i>I-NA</i> É.GUD an-da-an GUD.ĤI.A<br>ú-i-šu-u-ri-ja-an-ta-ti   | [É].GUD-kán an-da GUD.ĤI.A-u[š<br>KI.MIN]  |
| c) ne Ū-UL iš-pí-i-e-er<br>Note the difference between -e<br>and -at and the preservation of<br>na-at-ta in one of the Middle<br>Hittite versions; see also :<br>ne-ez iš-pí-e-er (Storm-god<br>version, ibidem, p. 116). | na-at-za n[a-at-ta iš-pí-<br>ja-an-zi]<br>na-at-za Ū[-UL iš-pí-ir] (KBo<br>XIV 86 + I : 18, ibidem, p. 132)<br><br>na-at-za iš-pí-e-er (version<br>of Queen Harapsili, ibidem,<br>p. 122 ff. = Cat. 262.2 etc.)<br>[n]a-at-za iš-pí-ir (XXXIII<br>32 III : 5, ibidem, p. 126 =<br>Cat. 262.5)<br>Other versions Tel.-myth<br>ku-it-kán an-da pa-iz-zi<br>(Second version, ibidem, p.<br>98 ff. = Cat. 258. 2, D III :<br>8-9; note, however, that A<br>IV : 12 omits -kan) |
| d) XVII 10<br>ku-it an-da-an pa-iz-zi   |  |
| e) na-aš-ta nam-ma ša-ra-a Ū-UL<br>ú-iz-zi  | na-at-kán nam-ma ša-ra-a<br>Ū-UL ú-iz-zi (Second version)  |
| f) GIŠe-ja-az-kán UDU-aš KUŠkur-<br>ša-aš kán-kán-za  | na-aš-ta GIŠe-ja-a[z UDU-aš<br>KUŠkur-ša-aš] kán-kán-za<br>(XXXIII 12 IV : 14-15, ibidem,<br>p. 107 = Cat. 259.2)  |

These examples chosen from two widely different genres, the Laws and the Mythological texts, prove beyond doubt that Old Hittite compositions were modernized during the Middle Hittite period. But this also happened to originally Middle Hittite texts during the last two centuries of the New Empire. I shall limit the discussion in this Chapter to two examples chosen from group B, the undoubtedly Middle Hittite texts : Cat. 283 C as compared to 283 A (period of Mursilis II);



Cat. 275 and 276 <sup>9</sup> as compared to Cat. 274 and cat. 283 A (again period of Mursilis II) <sup>10</sup>. For the first of these examples an important indication of historical character supports the argument : in the earlier version Kizzuwatna is still mentioned as an independent country, but in the later it is not. Many scholars have already swelt on this point before, Forrer, Goetze, Gurney and Sommer, but Carruba was the first to realize its linguistical implications <sup>11</sup>. Chart VI may serve to summarize the development in language between the beginning of the Empire period and the time of Mursilis II.

## Chart VI

Original Versions	Revised Editions
a) Gen sing. in -an :	
LUGAL-an (Cat. 275)	LUGAL-wa-aš <sup>1</sup> (Cat. 274)
b) Omission of Poss. pron.	
da-ri-ja-aš-ḫa-aš-ti-iš (Cat. 276/274 <sup>1</sup> )	tar-ri-ja-aš-ḫa-aš (Cat. 283 A)
ut-ta-a-ar-še-et (Cat. 275)	ud-da-a-ar (Cat. 274)
ši-ú-ni-mi (Cat. 275)	DINGIR- <i>LIM</i> -ni (Cat. 274 <sup>12</sup> ; but elsewhere si-ú-ni-mi is preserved in this text)
c) Elimination of the acc. plur. of the Rel. pron.	
ku-i-uš (Cat. 283 C)	0 (Cat. 283 A)
ku-i-uš (Cat. 275)	0 (Cat. 274) <sup>13</sup>
d) Dissolution of the construction Gen. — noun — Poss. pron. <sup>14</sup>	
[..... ut-ne-aš ḫ]u-u-ma-an- da-aš a-aš-šu<-šum>-me-et (Cat. 283 C)	KUR-e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš a-aš-šu (Cat. 283 A)
ŠA MKán-tu-zi-li ut-ta-a-ar-še- et (Cat. 275)	ŠA LÚ.NAM.LU- <i>LU-UT-TI</i> ud-da-a-ar (Cat. 274)
e) Change/Addition of particles :	
[zi-ik-m]u DINGIR- <i>IA</i> [at-ta-	zi-ga-mu-za DINGIR- <i>I</i> [(A at-

<sup>9</sup> It is still a moot question which is the earlier one, cf. H.G. Güterbock, JAOS LXXXVIII (1958), p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> I have the distinct impression that Cat. 274 is slightly older than Cat. 283 A which can be accurately dated to the beginning of Mursilis' reign : in some examples of Chart VI Cat. 274 sides with the older versions; see also Chapter III, p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> See Carruba, *Wisurijanza*, p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. XXXI 127 + III : 12 as compared to XXX 10 Rev. : 22.

<sup>13</sup> See XXXI 127 + III : 17-18 as compared to XXX 10 Rev. : 24-25 but note the preservation of ku-i-uš in XXXI 127 + I : 52.

<sup>14</sup> See Carruba et alii, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 14-15.

aš i-wa-ar zi-ik] (Cat. 275)	ta-a)]š i-wa-ar zi-ik (Cat. 276 !)
zi-ik-pát ge-en-zu-wa-la-aš	[zi-i]k-pát-za DUTU URU <sup>A</sup> -ri-
DUTU-uš (Cat. 276/274 <sup>1</sup> )	in-na gi-in-zu-wa-la-aš
	DINGIR-LUM zi-ik (Cat. 283 A)
ne-pí-š[a-aš] tág-na-aš-ša	ne-pí-ša-aš-ša-az tág-na-aš-
ḥu-u-la-le-eš-ni zi-ik-pát	ša ḥu-u-la-le-eš-ni zi-ik-pát
DUTU-uš [la]-lu-ki-ma-aš	DUTU URU <sup>A</sup> -ri-in-na la-lu-uk-
(Cat. 274 <sup>1</sup> )	ki-[m]a-aš (Cat. 283 A)
For brevity's sake I omit	
four other examples where	
Cat. 283 A adds -za	
in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ti-ma-mu	in-na-ra-wa-an-ti-mu-kán ..... ... ma-ni-ia[-aḥ-ta] (Cat.
pé-e-di <sup>1</sup> ..... ma-ni-ia-	274)
aḥ-ta (Cat. 275)	nu-za-kán ..... [ša-ra-a] ...
nu-za-an ..... ša-ra-a ... i-	i-ia-an-zi (Cat. 283 A)
en-zi (Cat. 283 C)	na-aš-ta ..... le[-e] an-da
na-pa ..... le-e an-da ḥar-	ḥar-kán-zi (Cat. 283 A)
kán-zi (Cat. 283 C)	nu[-kán] ..... šar-re-eš-
[na-a]š-ta ..... šar-ra-aš-	ki-ši (Cat. 274)
ki-it[-ta] (Cat. 276 C)	nu-za-kán [ŠA] DINGIR-IA
nu-za-ta ŠA DINGIR-IA du-	ḥa-a [t-ta-tar] ḥu-u-ma[-an
ud-du-mar ḥa-at-ta-ta ḥu-u-ma-	ša-ki-nu-un] (Cat. 274)
an-ta ša-ki[-nu]-un (Cat. 275)	

The preceding examples are all advanced as proof that some Hittite texts really were adapted in style to the more modern usage of the copyist's own days. In the following Chapter I shall show that other late copies do preserve both the wording and the spelling of their (hyp)archetype<sup>15</sup>. In principle, however, three different "moments" should be carefully distinguished : a) at what time was the text composed? b) was it during the time of its use slightly modernized or even drastically revised? c) when was the actual manuscript written down? Some texts of course never were revised or adapted, being either not important enough or too sacred. Sometimes the actual manuscript of a revision may have been preserved. In these cases only two correlates remain, either *a* and *c* or *a* and *b*. Two examples may be added in order to show why it is of importance to determine the date of a revision.

*Example I* : Otten has rightly stressed that copy B for tablet I of the Laws gives detailed provisions for what should be done in the case of an unilateral annulment of a marriage after the *kušata*, the brideprice, had already been handed over,

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter III, p. 55-56.

while copy A (in "Old Script") does not<sup>16</sup>. In giving these provisions copy B confirms to the normal practice of the Ancient Near Eastern legislation, known e.g. from the code of Hammurapi. It is of importance to add that this important revision cannot have taken place before the beginning of the Empire period, because in the following additional paragraph — devoted to the marriage between a free man and a female slave (par. 31) — the nom. plur. of the Enclitic pronoun comm. gen. is thrice rendered with -at instead of with -e (exclusively used in all Old Hittite texts, cf. Chapter I and Chart V). The various manuscripts for tablet I of the Laws should now be re-assigned to one of these two recensions represented by A and B respectively and doubtless to another, later revision as well.

*Example II* : One should reckon with the possibility that one manuscript for a composition may be a relatively old copy in archaic spelling of a nevertheless modernized version and another manuscript a late copy — later e.g. than the change in spelling habits referred to in the beginning of Chapter I — which still preserves some older readings. It is not necessary at all to give unreserved preference to the manuscript which is more archaic in spelling than the others. I add this example, because there is a danger that future scholars may be misled by the archaic character of the spelling in "Familienzwist", Cat. 321 II A, a manuscript which has been adduced by both Miss Kammenhuber and Carruba<sup>17</sup>. One should not overestimate the value of this copy. Although decidedly late, copy I A<sup>18</sup> sometimes preserves the older form : it consistently writes -uš for the acc. plur. comm. gen. of the Enclitic pronoun (6 examples) and in II : 33 it preserves the archaic genitive TÚGše-ek-nu-uš, while Cat. 321 II A gives a mixture of -uš (2 examples) and -aš (8 examples) and gives this genitive as TÚGše-ek-nu-wa-aš (III : 25). It would be possible to collect more examples of a similar divergence.

On internal evidence Sommer and Otten decided that the copies of version I do not belong to a prototype of II A but that they should be considered as abbreviated or mutilated compared to that other text<sup>19</sup>. We may now add that they should go back to a relatively old (hyp)archetype and certainly not to copy 321 II A itself. Both texts use kuš as a nom. plur. (321 I A II : 1 ku-u-uš = 321 II A II : 47 ku-u-ša). In itself this seems to be a relatively late phenomenon, but one text of group B offers a parallel (apuš in Cat. 354.1).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. H. Otten in H. Schmökel, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 391 and in *Fischer Weltgeschichte, Die altorientalische Reiche* II, p. 124 with respect to par. 29-31 missing from A.

<sup>17</sup> See A. Kammenhuber, *ZA* LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 200 ff. and O. Carruba, *Wisurijanza*, pp. 32 and 46.

<sup>18</sup> B in the edition presented by L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* I (1953), p. 345 ff.

<sup>19</sup> See Sommer-Otten, *OLZ* XLVIII (1953), c. 18.

The revision applied to type II and preserved in copy II A antedates the introduction of the "modernized" spelling and the transformation of the gloss sign into a Luwian marker <sup>20</sup>. Apparently the revision was posterior to the change from -uš to -aš in the acc. plur. common gender of the Enclitic pronoun (one example of -uš is to be found in the colophon and the other right in the beginning of the text in 321 II A I : 26). An interchange between -uš and -aš is typical for texts stemming from the early decades of the Empire period. The earliest examples of tablets in which the gloss sign functions as a Luwian marker belong either to the end of Suppiluliumas' reign or to the beginning of the period of Mursilis II <sup>21</sup>. Perhaps we may conclude that the composition itself was written in the beginning of the Empire period and that the above-mentioned revision took place during the reign of Suppiluliumas or one of his immediate predecessors on the Hittite throne.

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<sup>20</sup> See with respect to this characteristic A. Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 201.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. H.G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* XXV (1956), p. 136.

### III. PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

After this necessary digression I now return to the main subject of this study, the distribution of the Hittite historical texts. It might legitimately be asked whether there are philological arguments for a reasoned choice between the two alternatives, 1) the texts of group C are originals of late date, sometimes with archaizing features, or 2) the texts of group C are from the Middle Hittite period, partly originals, partly late copies, which have in some instances been adapted to later scribal habits.

I. If it could be shown that some of these tablets should be considered as late copies of older (hyp)archetypes rather than as independent originals of the late period, this would indicate that the compositions in question should preferably be dated to an earlier age of the Empire period and not to the very last decades.

II. If there is good evidence for a secondary revision of a composition belonging to this group, because there is a marked contrast between two (groups of) manuscripts, this would point in the same direction.

III. If some manuscripts of the disputed group should reveal a free variation between old and new spelling variants, this phenomenon would be open to two explanations. It could either prove that these copies date from an intermediary period during which both writings were current, or it could characterize the manuscripts in question as partially updated copies of a later age.

*Ad I :*

In one example — Cat. 178.1, a law-text of a king Tudhaliyas — the colophon indicates that the text is a late copy<sup>1</sup>. Apparently the (hyp)archetype was in a bad condition : ki-i *TUP-PU* ar-ḫa ḫar-ra-an e-eš-ta. This evidence is of some importance, since, as was duly noted in Chart II of Chapter I, Cat. 178.1 shows material similarities to Cat. 179.9 now published as KBo XVI 24 (+) 25, which

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the names Mahhu(z)is and Halpazitis mentioned in the colophon. A Mahhuzzis is known from KBo IV 10 Rev. : 32 and XXVI 43 Rev. : 33 = XXVI 50 Rev. : 27 as a scribe and GAL<sup>LÚ</sup> MU-BAR-RI-I (Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, no. 714.1). Under no. 259.3 Laroche gives references for a Halpazitis who was a father of scribes (and perhaps also a scribe himself (?)).

has been declared Middle Hittite on account of its language and the form of its signs <sup>2</sup>.

Sometimes there is internal evidence that the tablet in question should not be taken for an original. In Cat. 88 — XXIII 72 Rev. : 55/55 a — the scribe at first omitted a whole sentence from the manuscript he was copying, because his eyes wandered from a first to a second KAS-ši, and later he inserted the missing clause (55a). A similar correction can be found in Rev. : 32 a. A comparable omission by homoiiosis took place in Cat. 277 A (XVII 21) II : 26 — a composition belonging to group B —, but here the mistake was not corrected in ancient times. Von Schuler restored the text on the basis of a duplicate <sup>3</sup>.

It is hard to pronounce an opinion on Cat. 95 (XXIII 77 +). As the name of a king and the normal titles are completely absent, von Schuler concludes that it might be a draft prepared in the Chancellery. It might also be a kind of abstract, made afterwards to serve as the basis for another, later treaty. This is not altogether unlikely, since we actually have a presumably later treaty based on this text, namely Cat. 97.1 (XXVI 19). Von Schuler remarks on the latter : “Zweifelhaft ist es allerdings, ob es sich hier um einen geltenden Vertrag handelt. Die zahlreichen Rasuren, der Nachtrag einer ganzen Zeile (II : 28) und die sehr ungleichmässigen Zeilenlängen (vgl. I ; 6 und II : 14, 15) scheinen, ähnlich wie bei XXIII 77, eher auf einen Entwurf zu deuten. Allerdings lässt die vierkolumnige Textanordnung und die in XXIII 77 fehlende Fluchformel vielleicht den Schluss auf ein fortgeschrittenes Stadium der Abfassung bzw. Niederschrift zu ..... Obwohl die zwei Verträge gewiss nicht unabhängig voneinander entstanden sind, brauchen sie darum weder zum gleichen Vertragswerk noch in die gleiche Zeit zu gehören; vielmehr scheint XXVI 19 jünger zu sein” <sup>4</sup>.

There is in fact some evidence indicating that XXIII 77 + is not a draft, but a later abstract. Although the language is rather archaic, in von Schuler's opinion even more archaic than Cat. 96, the 20 : 0 ratio of EGIR-pa to a-ap-pa writings indicates that a Hittite scribe from a later period copied an old tablet of an earlier age and in doing so updated this particular feature of spelling. A few consistently used late “variants” in XXVI 19 can be adduced in support of a late date for this tablet : -ten instead of -te-en, -nir instead of -ni-ir, ma-aḫ-ḫa-an instead of ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an. But I hasten to add that stray examples of these younger variants are already present in undoubtedly Middle Hittite copies like XIV 1

<sup>2</sup> Cf. OLZ XLVIII (1953), c. 15 and the Introduction to KBo XVI, p. V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer*, p. 156 note 12 with respect to XVII 21 II : 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer*, pp. 132-133.

(Cat. 89, the indictment of Madduwattas) and XXXI 103 (Cat. 178.10). Considerable importance can be attached, however, to a drastic syntactic modernization : ú-e-ša šu-ma-a-aš-pát ḫar-ru-wa-ni (XXIII 77 + Obv. : 50) has been changed to ú-e-ša šu-me-es-pát har-ú-e-ni (XXVI 19 II : 23). The use of šumeš for the dative plural is without parallel in earlier Hittite <sup>5</sup>.

## Ad II :

In a few cases more manuscripts are available for one and the same composition. It is of interest to note that some indications might point to a difference in age between the two copies. The rather poorly preserved copy B (XXIII 12) for Tudhaliyas' annals (Cat. 85) might be older than copy A (XXIII 11) :

B	A
a-ap-pa	EGIR-pa
ḫu-it-ti-ḫ[a-nu-un]	SUD-nu-un
i-e-et	i-ja-at
[wa-a]g-ga <sub>5</sub> -ri-ja-u-ar	wa-ag-ga <sub>5</sub> -ri-ja-u-wa-ar

With respect to Cat. 96 it is not so easy to make a reasoned choice between the manuscripts A (KBo VIII 35) and B (XXIII 78 +). Both contain archaic spellings. In a first group B preserves the more archaic variant :

B	A
a-ap-pa	EGIR-pa
[li]-in-ga-en	li-in-ga-i[n]
[d]a-i-u-e-en	da-i-ú-en
URUK[a]-a-aš-ka	URUKa-aš-ka
pa-aḫ-ša-an-ta-ru	pa-aḫ-ša-an-da-ru

But there are also variants which seem to serve as a counterpoise :

A	B
ne-e-pí-ša-aš	ne-pí-ša-an
tág-na-a-aš	tág-na[-aš]
DINGIR.MEŠ-eš (2 ×)	DINGIR.MEŠ
ne-e-pí-iš	ne-pí-iš
ÍD.ḪI.A-eš	ÍD.MEŠ
iš-kar-ra-an-ni-an[-du]	[iš]-kar-ra-an-ni-ja-an-du

In both copies some constructions seem to have been misunderstood or, less

<sup>5</sup> See Carruba, *Verbalendungen*, p. 85 note c.

probably, deliberately changed<sup>6</sup>. These misunderstandings could be explained on the basis of the assumption that manuscripts A and B are mutually independent copies of one (hyp)archetype. Apparently both were made with great care, preserving both a number of archaic, though not identical spellings. Manuscripts C and D are rather parallel versions, not duplicates in the formal sense. D (KBo XVI 29) preserves a few logographic writings missing from the other manuscripts : *NI-I*[Š DINGIR.MEŠ] versus *li-in-ga-a-uš* (A, B), *EGIR-pa* versus *a-ap-pa* (A, B) and *ŠÀ.𐎶A-KU-NU* against *ki-ir-še-me-et* (A), but then suddenly in D *li-in-ki-ja-aš* DINGIR.ME[Š] versus *NI-IŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ in A.

*N.B.* Of the texts assembled under Cat. 97, XXXI 33 (97.3) is too small to warrant conclusions. XXVI 19 (97.1), clearly based upon Cat. 95 and younger in spelling and syntax, has already been dealt with. XXVI 20 (97.2) is definitely interesting. The remains are archaic in spelling<sup>7</sup>. XXXI 105 (97.4) preserves a few characteristic, archaic forms : *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an*, *pa-iš-te-en* and *pí-iš-te-en*, *da-at-te-en*.

Some remarks on compositions of group B, the undoubtedly Middle Hittite texts, may profitably be added at this point. With respect to Cat. 175 there is sound evidence for the conclusion that B (XXXI 42) is more archaic than especially A. The numerous -wani endings of copy B have all been duly noted in Chart I of Chapter I. But there is more. The copy abounds in plene spellings and syllabic writings : *ḫu-u-li-a-a-aš*, *i-da-a-lu-un* (A : 𐎶UL-lu-un), *an-za-a-ša-aš* (A : *an-za-aš-ša* and perhaps a mistake for *an-za-a-aš-ša* ?), *URUḪAR-ra-na-a-aš-ši*, *hu-u-ma-an-te-i-e* (A : *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ja*), *ku-u-ru-ra-aš* (A : *ku-ru-ra-aš*), *u-e-ez-zi* (A : *u-i-ja-az-zi*), *i-da-lu-un* (A : 𐎶UL-lu-un), *ku-u-ru-ur* (A : *ku-ru-ur*), *na-ak-ki-i*, *ú-e-da-a-u-e-ni* (A : *ú-e-da-u-e[-ni]*), *pa-an-ga-u-e* (A : *pa-an-q[a-...]*, see below p. 51)<sup>8</sup>.

Concerning the manuscripts for Cat. 277 — Arnuwandas' prayer about the cults in the north — it may be remarked that copy B II : 7 and 10-11 is more complete than A II : 23 and 26. B also preserves two archaic spellings which have been modernized in A, *ke-e-ta-aš* (A : *ke-e-da-aš*) and *šu-up-pa-e-eš-ša-az* (against *šu-up-pa-e-ša-za* in A). The numerous manuscripts for this composition should be studied anew once all the inedita have been published. At the moment it is hard to decide whether B really is older than A, or whether B was made with greater care.

Concerning the prayers to the Sun-god, Cat. 274-276, Güterbock's article, *The*

<sup>6</sup> See in a series of accusatives suddenly A II : 9 <sup>D</sup>KAL-aš, A II : 10 *li-in-ki-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš* (= B II : 6 *li-in-ki-ja iš-ḫa-a-aš*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *a-ú-wa-r* [e-...] with the long form of the stem, *ú-e-ez-zi*, *da-a-i-e* ? [-er].

<sup>8</sup> See already Carruba, *Verbalungen*, p. 85 note a ("ältere (Archiv)kopie").



*Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun*, is of fundamental importance. Güterbock rightly suggested that Cat. 274 C and B (+) D should be transposed to Cat. 276. These texts may be added to this composition as a third and fourth copy C and D. It is beyond doubt that both Cat. 275, Kantuzzilis' prayer, and Cat. 276, the prayer of an unnamed Hittite king, are linguistically older than Cat. 274 <sup>9</sup>.

However, XXX 10, the tablet on which Cat. 275 is preserved, shows a striking mixture of "free" spelling variants and this may indicate that the tablet itself is not as old as the text (see below, p. 49). On a few points XXXI 127 + (the main copy for Cat. 274) maintains an older spelling than XXX 10 <sup>10</sup>. This precludes that Cat. 274 depends on the copy XXX 10, but Cat. 274 could of course very well be a modernization of XXX 10's (hyp)archetype.

The spelling ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an in XXXVI 75 (Cat. 276 A) proves that the original — not necessarily this copy itself — goes back to the beginning of the Empire period <sup>11</sup>. The same holds good for Cat. 275, not only because of an example of this same characteristic spelling but also for prosopographical reasons. The decision in the moot question which of these two compositions was written before the other can therefore hardly be based upon linguistical considerations. Readings both texts and comparing Cat. 274 for the missing beginning of Cat. 275 one gets the impression, however, that already from the very first lines Cat. 276 consists of a purposeful adaptation of the parallel text for royal use by a Hittite king.

Cat. 283 C (XXIV 4 + XXX 12) is highly archaic in its spelling and abounds in plene writings and sequences of the CV<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>1</sub>C type instead of signs with the value CVC : ú-wa-a-at-te-ni, uš-ka-at-te-ni, me-e-ma-ú, ta-ma-a-aš-ta, ku-u-r[u-r] a-an-za, ka-a-aš-ta-an, tar-na-at-te-en, la-a-at-te-en, to mention just a few. But glide vowels already occur just as in the indictment of Madduwattas (Cat. 89), cf. URUAr-za-u-wa (2 x), i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-ni and [w]a-al-ḫa-an-ni-u-wa-an.

But now it is time to return to the texts of group C, the disputed group of possibly Middle Hittite texts. It is significant, I think, that in two cases — Cat. 171.3 (XXVI 17) as compared to Cat. 170 (the main copy A is XIII 20) and Cat. 176 manuscripts E, L, M and N as compared to the main copy A, XIII 2 — an apparently older version has been considerably changed and adapted. In both cases

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter II, Chart VI.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. XXXI 127 + II : 20, 21 where forms without glide vowel (in-na-ra-wa-an-ti... and i-ja-wa-ar) should be compared to forms with glide vowel in XXX 10 Obv. : 8 (in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ti... and i-ja-u-wa); see also XXXI 127 + III : 2, a-pa-a[-aš] (also XXX 11 Rev. : 12 = Cat. 276), as compared to Q4-TAM-MA in XXX 10 Rev. : 16.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. already Carruba, *Wisurijanzen*, p. 32.

modern editors have rightly hesitated to use the older version as a normal duplicate. Cat. 171.3 (manuscript E in Alp's notation for the *Military Instructions of the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV* (?) has been characterized as a free duplicate or as a parallel text with a different disposition <sup>12</sup>. Cat. 176 M has been called a different version : "Es scheint aber doch, als seien A und M verschiedene Fassungen des Textes..." <sup>13</sup>.

For both compositions the second criterion mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter is clearly valid : there is ample evidence for a major revision of the wording used in these compositions. First I shall compare Cat. 171.3 to Cat. 170 :

## Cat. 171.3

ma-a-an PUTU-ŠI-ma

The sequence nu ma-a-an is rarely used in Old Hittite <sup>14</sup>; therefore Cat. 171.3 is more archaic on this point.

e-eš-tu

ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an

nu ku-iš EREM.MEŠ a-ša-an-du-

la&lt;-aš&gt; na-aš-kán an-da a-ša-

an-du-la-aš da-a-la-aḫ-ḫi

Adverb + verb tends to develop into a compound ("univerbation of the adverb, hence preverb).

ku-wa-at-ka

ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an

## Cat. 170

nu ma-a-an PUTU-ŠI

e-eš-du

ma-aḫ-ḫa-an

nu ku-iš EREM.MEŠ a-ša-an-du-la-

aš na-an-kán PUT[U-ŠI] a-ša-an-du-

li an-da ta-la-aḫ-ḫi

ku-wa-at-qa (see below, p. 52)

ma-aḫ-ḫa-an.

In another passage of Cat. 171.3 (without later parallel) na-[a]š-ta-še-ja and nu-uš-še-eš-ša-an pu-u-nu-šu[-wa-ar? e-eš-tu?] both preserve -še, the archaic dat. sing. of the Enclitic pers. pron. 3rd pers. In the first example the word order is striking, with -ašta not in the last position as it should be (cf. the usual nu-uš-ši-iš-ta) <sup>15</sup>. Cat. 36.2 B (VIII 81) — a fragment which in my opinion belongs

<sup>12</sup> Goetze characterizes the text in his Introduction to KUB XXVI as follows : "ergänzendes, wenn auch etwas freies Duplikat". Alp considers it to be a "parallel text with a different disposition" (*Instructions*, p. 403).

<sup>13</sup> See von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sternemann, MIO XI (1966), pp. 396, 397, 399.

<sup>15</sup> Apparently the position of -še was unstable, see also Tablet I of the Laws, par. 95, še-e-er-ši-it-wa (A) / še-er-wa-aš-ši (B) / [še]-er-še-wa (P) šar-ni-ik-mi. One may also refer to Tablet II of the Laws, par. 10, an-da-še-ja a-pe-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an pa-a-i (B) in contrast to Q for par. 25 where one finds an-ta-ja-aš-še in the same expression.

to Cat. 94 and group C — offers a good parallel for the second example : (gloss sign) ša-a-ku-wa-aš-še-eš-ša-an ḫar-du (II : 10) <sup>16</sup>.

With respect to Cat. 176 — the instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards — the situation is more complicated. A few preliminary remarks on a number of manuscripts must precede the comparison between the two versions. The newly published piece XL 55 belonging to this composition is of considerable interest. According to the Introduction to this KUB-volume, XL 55 belongs to column I of XL 56 (manuscript L in von Schuler's notation), although there is no direct join between the two pieces. XL 55 (siglum L<sub>1</sub> might be used in contrast to L<sub>2</sub> for XL 56) preserves two undoubtedly archaic spellings, ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an in line 4 and še-e-kán-na in line 8. This indicates that manuscript L (L<sub>1</sub> + L<sub>2</sub>) belongs to an old recension. So far it has escaped attention that E<sub>2</sub> (XXXI 88) III can be joined to L<sub>2</sub> III (third column and not second as given by Klengel, the editor). Already some time ago Laroche concluded that E<sub>1</sub> (XXXI 87) joins to E<sub>2</sub> (XXXI 88), cf. Laroche, RHA fasc. 49 (1948-49), p. 11, fasc. 59 (1956), p. 90, and fasc. 61 (1957), p. 126. I have asked Professor Güterbock for his opinion on these matters and he replied that he accepts both Laroche's join E<sub>1</sub> + E<sub>2</sub> (he had in fact surmised the same) and mine, L<sub>2</sub> + E<sub>2</sub>, and then he continues : "Further, if you look at the shape of XXXI 87 and XL 56 you see that they have the same shape in outline, mirrorlike. In other words they belong dos-à-dos. This agrees well with the individual two joins" (personal letter of Dec. 21, 1968).

Carruba already saw that M (XIII 1) preserves the archaic spelling ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an <sup>17</sup>. Where N overlaps M, there are slight variations. N might be a third old manuscript but could also be a later copy of a slightly different archaic version. So far there is simply not enough evidence to decide whether K (I and II) and D<sub>1</sub> belong to the old or to the new recension. The place with the older one assigned to them by von Schuler is based upon similarity in content matter, but not on linguistic considerations. Tentatively and awaiting further study, one might say that there are three manuscripts which seem to belong to a more archaic recension : M, N and E<sub>1,2</sub> + L<sub>1,2</sub>.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the gloss sign in front of ša-a-ku-wa-aš-še-eš-ša-an functions as an exclamation mark, cf. Güterbock, *Orientalia* XXV (1956), p. 136. In Chapter I, Chart I, I have quoted the correspondencies which might show that Cat. 36.2 B should in fact be reckoned to group C. Bibliographical references for both Cat. 36.2 B and 94 have been given above on p. 5 note 17. Diagrams 6 and 12 (see below) confirm that Cat. 94 preserves some archaic spellings. The precise relationship between both fragments will be discussed below p. 60 note 20. But see Kammenhuber, *Arier*, pp. 37, 43 note 103, 65, 98 note 298, and 99 for a different opinion. Miss Kammenhuber denies the existence of a first and early Sunas-suras and dates both fragments to the time of Suppiluliumas I.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Carruba, *Wisurijanaza*, p. 32.

Archaic Recension	Main Version (A etc.)
ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an (L <sub>1</sub> )	[m]a-aḥ-ḥa-an
še-e-kán-na (L <sub>1</sub> and E <sub>1</sub> )	še-kán-na
ši-ja-a-an (E <sub>1</sub> )	ši-ja-an
a-ar-ri-ra-an[-du](E <sub>1</sub> )	ar-ri-ir-ra-an-du
ne-e-u-wa-aḥ-ḥa-an-du (E <sub>1</sub> )	ne-wa-aḥ-ḥa-an-du
Éka-ru-ú-um-mi (E <sub>2</sub> )	Éka-ri-im-mi
ar-taḥ-ḥi-e-eš (E <sub>2</sub> )	a-ar-ta-ḥi-uš
[k]u-e-da-ni A-NA TÚL SISKUR.	nu-uš-ša-an A-NA TÚL SISKUR.
SISKUR e-eš-zi na-at ši-pa-an-	SISKUR ki-it-ta-ri na-at-ši
za-kán-du [ša]-ra-a-ja-at-kán	e-eš-ša-an-du ar-aš-kán-du
a-ar-aš-kán-du (L <sub>2</sub> + E <sub>2</sub> )	
a-ar-aš-kán-du (L <sub>2</sub> + E <sub>2</sub> )	ar-aš-kán-du
ku-e-da-ni URU-ri ku-wa-aš[-ki-ir] (L <sub>2</sub> )	ku-e-da-ni-aš-kán URU-ri ku-aš-ki-ir (addition of -kan)
ḥal-ku-e-eš-na-aš-ša (M)	ḥal-ku-iš-ša-na-ša
ki-i-nu-an (M)	ki-nu-wa-an
ma-a-an-kán (M)	na-aš-ma-kán
ge-e-mi-ja-aš-ša-an (M)	gi-im-mi-ja-aš-ša-[a]n
And as variants in a more general sense (without direct correspondence) :	
ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an (M)	ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
but note GIM-an in N, D <sub>1</sub> and K II	
du-wa-a-an/du-wa-an	tu-u-wa

### *Ad III :*

In both examples which have just been dealt with, the older version consistently writes ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an versus ma-aḥ-ḥa-an in the later adaptation. On the basis of partly identical and partly different material the same clue has been followed up by Miss Kammenhuber<sup>18</sup> and Carruba<sup>19</sup>, both paying much attention to version II A of the "Familienzwist". This philological criterion for the recognition of Middle Hittite texts does not stand alone : a-ap-pa, a-ap-pa-an and na-at-ta function in a similar manner, as they are also typical for tablets in "Old Script", cf. Diagram 4<sup>19a</sup>. In this Diagram and the others given in this Chapter asterisks have been used to denote that the later variants are entirely lacking.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 201, *Altkeleinsiasische Sprachen*, p. 176.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Carruba, *Wisurijanaza*, pp. 31-32 together with note 51 : this listing is very important indeed.

<sup>19a</sup> Cf. Kammenhuber, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XVIII (1961), p. 79.

## Diagram 4

“Old Script”

a-ap-pa : Cat. 5 A\* ; 7\* ; 156.3\* ; 181 A\* ; 184 Q\* ; 308 C\* ; 324\* ; KBo XIII 175\*

a-ap-pa-an : Cat. 5 A\* ; 7\* ; 181 A\* ; 324\*

ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an : Cat. 122.6\* ; (cf. ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da in 181 A\*) ; 289\*

na-at-ta : 5 A\* ; 7\* ; 24 D\* ; 122.6\* ; 181 A\* ; 184 Q\* ; 324\*.

One important question has been overlooked so far : what should be thought about those texts which show an intermixture of both variants, ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an as well as ma-aḫ-ḫa-an and, on a par, a-ap-pa/EGIR-pa, a-ap-pa-an/EGIR(-pa)-an, na-at-ta/*Ū-UL*. Diagrams 51-12 may serve to give an adequate impression of how these “free variants” are divided over the texts of groups B and C.

## Diagram 5

B	a-ap-pa	EGIR-pa
KBo XV 10	0	12
KBo XVI 47	1	1
Cat. 178.10*	1	0
Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8*	2	0
Cat. 179.6	0	3
Cat. 179.9	0	1
Cat. 275	6	1
Cat. 276	4	2
Cat. 277	0	4
Cat. 283 C*	1	0

## Diagram 6

C		
Cat. 85.2	1 (B)	3 (A)
Cat. 88	6	1
Cat. 89	15	4
Cat. 94 (XXXVI 127)*	4	0
Cat. 95	0	20
Cat. 96 (A/B)	5 + 1 (B)	2 (A)
Cat. 124.6	0	2
Cat. 172	1	2
Cat. 176 E + L, M, N	0	1, 2, 0

## Diagram 7

B	a-ap-pa-an	EGIR(-pa)-an
KBo XV 10	0	1
Cat. 175 B	0	2
Cat. 178.10	0	1
Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8	1	0
Cat. 179.9	0	3
Cat. 277	0	7

## Diagram 8

C		
Cat. 85.2	0	4
Cat. 86	1	1
Cat. 87	0	2
Cat. 88	0	5
Cat. 89	0	8
Cat. 95	0	3
Cat. 172	0	1
Cat. 176 E + L, M, N	0	3, 5, 0
Cat. 178.1	0	2

## Diagram 9

B	ma-a-ah-ha-an	ma-ah-ha-an	GIM-an
KBo XV 10*	4	0	0
KBo XVI 47*	1	0	0
Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8	0	1	0
Cat. 275	1	1	0
Cat. 276	4 (A*)	2 (B)	0
Cat. 277	2	1 (?)	0

## Diagram 10

C			
Cat. 85.2	0	0	2 (A)
Cat. 88	1	3	0
Cat. 89	0	9	2
Cat. 95*	3	0	0
Cat. 171.3*	2	0	0
Cat. 176 E + L*, M*, N	1,5,0	0,0,0,	0,0,1

## Diagram 11

B	na-at-ta	<i>U-UL</i>
KBo XV 10	0	2
KBo XVI 31	0	3
KBo XVI 46	0	1
KBo XVI 47	0	1
Cat. 175 B	0	7
Cat. 178.10	0	1
Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8	2	1
Cat. 179.6	0	4
Cat. 179.9	1	10
Cat. 275	10	10
Cat. 276	1 (? B)	8
Cat. 277	0	19
Cat. 283 C	0	2

## Diagram 13

C		
KBo XVI 50	0	1
Cat. 86	0	1
Cat. 87	0	1
Cat. 88	0	15
Cat. 89	0	19
Cat. 94 (XXXVI 127)	1	10
Cat. 95	0	9
Cat. 96 (A/B)	0	3
Cat. 99	0	2
Cat. 124.6*	2	0
Cat. 172	0	10
Cat. 176 E + L, M, N	0	2, 0, 1
Cat. 178.1	1	1

Some of the tablets belonging to group B have been vaguely described as written in what may appear to be a "Middle Hittite ductus". These are : in general the texts belonging to Cat. 179, among which the recently published KBo XVI 24 (+) 25 (Cat. 179.9) is of primary importance on account of its length and state of preservation, and now also KBo XVI 27 (Cat. 179.6), 31, 45, 46 and 47. To

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Sommer-Otten, OLZ XLVIII (1953), c. 15, and now the Introduction to KBo XVI, p. V.

<sup>21</sup> See for this group especially Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 179 note 13.

these may be added XXXI 103 (Cat. 178.10), a communication I owe to Professor Güterbock (personal letter of August 17, 1968). In these tablets the older variants do occur, but they are not exclusively used, cf. Diagram 13.

This is why I am inclined to think that this variation may prove to be typical for tablets of precisely this period, in the same way as the interchange between -ašta and -kan referred to in Chapter I. But it would also be possible to assume that later copyists sometimes introduced the examples of ma-aḥ-ḫa-an, EGIR-pa, EGIR(-pa)-an and  $\tilde{U}$ -UL into their copies. This solution might apply to those tablets which are *not* written in "Middle Script". Awaiting further study which tablets are written in this type of script and which are not, one might suggest that especially when the variation applies to more than one item there is a chance that a later copyist should be held responsible for this free variation. This might be valid for XXX 10 (Cat. 275) with a variation ma-a-aḥ-ḫa-an/ma-aḥ-ḫa-an but also with an interchange a-ap-pa/EGIR-pa and na-at-ta/ $\tilde{U}$ -UL. Perhaps we may look for an indication in the fact that copy B for Tablet I of the Laws maintains a certain proportion of older spelling variants<sup>22</sup> and that sometimes a syntactical variant is maintained as well<sup>23</sup>. This probably indicates that the modernization took place as a gradual adaptation to a more modern usage and not as a methodical, thorough reworking of the original by a single scribe. It probably carried weight whether the (hyp)archetype was dictated or read by the scribe himself, cf. XXIX 1 as compared to XVII 10 and KBo XV 10<sup>24</sup>.

The change from a-ap-pa, a-ap-pa-an, ma(-a)-aḥ-ḫa-an and na-at-ta to the later variants EGIR-pa, EGIR(-pa)-an, GIM-an and  $\tilde{U}$ -UL is in fact the outcome of a more general tendency to replace syllabic writings by their logographic variants. This is one aspect of what has justly been called a change in spelling habits. A second characteristic difference between texts in "Old" and "Middle" script on the one hand and those of later periods on the other consists in a growing preference for signs of the type CVC over sequences CV<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>1</sub>C. Let me give one example: nowhere in "Old Script" and very rarely in those texts written in what might prove to be the "Middle Hittite ductus" is the sign TIN used in final position to designate the 2nd person plural of the preterite/imperative: almost everywhere one finds -te-en (cf. Diagrams 13, 14 (B) and 15 (C)). Less cogent but equally interesting is a study of the uses of NIR, ŠIR and TIR for the 3rd person plural preterite of verbs ending in -n, -š or -t. NIR, ŠIR and TIR are, as far as I know,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the retention of -še in par. 11, 23, 28 A and 95; na-at-ta has been preserved in par. 27 and 71.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the construction Gen. — noun — Poss. pron. preserved in par. 9 (?), 15, 17, 18, 95 and 99 (?); see also Chart III of Chapter II.

<sup>24</sup> See the end of this Chapter.



## Diagram

"Middle Script"	a-ap-pa	EGIR-pa	a-ap-pa-an	EGIR(-pa)-an
Cat. 179.1-5,7-8	2	0	1	0
Cat. 179.6	0	3	0	0
Cat. 179.9	0	1	0	3
KBo XVI 31	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0
47	1	1	0	0
Cat. 178.10	1	0	0	1
	—	—	—	—
	4	5	1	4

non-existent in such a position in "Old Script", but in texts from the beginning of the Empire period there is a mixture of e.g. ku-in-ni-ir (Cat. 85), ku-e-ni-ir (Cat. 179.1) and ku-e-nir (Cat. 88, 89). In Cat. 179.9 e-šir already occurs, while Cat. 283 C still writes e-še-er (in 283 A this form has been misunderstood and changed to e-eš-šir !) However, these examples are less valid, since PIR and KIR were already in use during the period of "Old Script" to write the corresponding verbal forms of verbs ending in -p and -k. Furthermore, the same variation still occurs in texts from the period of Mursilis, cf. [ku-e]n-ni-ir and [k] u-en-nir in Cat. 279.1.

## Diagram 14

B	-te-en	-ten
KBo XV 10*	10	0
Cat. 178.10	0	2
Cat. 179.1-5, 7-8*	2 (-te-in)	0
Cat. 179.6*	4	0
Cat. 179.9*	8	0
Cat. 277*	1	0
Cat. 283 C*	4	0

13

na-at-ta	$\bar{U}$ -UL	ma(-a)-aḥ-ḥa-an	ma-aḥ-ḥa-an	-te-en	-ten
2	1	0	1	2 (-te-in)	0
0	4	0	0	4	0
1	10	0	0	8	0
0	3	0	0	0	0
0	1	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	0	0	0
0	1	0	0	0	2
—	—	—	—	—	—
3	21	1	1	14	2

Diagram 15

C	-te-en	-ten
Cat. 87	3	4
Cat. 88	0	14
Cat. 89	3	5
Cat. 95	11	4
Cat. 96 (A/B)*	2	0
Cat. 99	0	9
Cat. 172	0	2

A third characteristic is the remarkable habit to use the sign QA for ka<sub>4</sub> and ga<sub>5</sub>. Already a long time ago Goetze devoted an excursus to the use of QA in the Hittite syllabary<sup>25</sup>. He justly notes that it was in fact superfluous and that there are no traces of a corresponding use of QI and QU. He goes on : "Weiter ist auch die Partikel -ka/-ki heranzuziehen, die das Indefinitum bildet. Bekanntlich lautet die Partikel -ka überall dort, wo die letzte Silbe des zugrundeliegenden Relative nicht den Vokal i enthält. Geschrieben wird -qa oder -ga; das Zeichen ka ist beim Indefinitum niemals zu finden". Goetze's data clearly show that 1) QA very rarely occurs in the beginning of a word. 2) it is often to be found in free variation with GA within a word, and 3) it interchanges with KI and KU. Goetze rightly concluded that QA should often be transcribed as ka<sub>4</sub>.

A few additional remarks may now be added : a) KA does occur in "Old Script"

<sup>25</sup> See A. Goetze, *AM*, pp. 267-274.

in positions with the indefinite pronoun and its related adverbs where according to Goetze's rule it should not : ku-wa-a-at-ka (Cat. 122.6) and ku-e-el-ka (copy A for Tablet I of the Laws, par. 44 b); see also ku-wa-at-ka in 171.3 as quoted above; b) QA is completely absent in "Old Script" as far as Hittite words are concerned (no initial QA, not after a consonant or vowel in the middle of a word, no example of double .Q-QA); c) beginning in the time of Tudhaliyas II QA often occurs in tablets from the first decades of the Empire period. KBo XV 10 (a faithful copy of an older (hyp)archetype, itself not in "Middle Script", see below) even presents examples where it stands in initial position : ka<sub>4</sub>-lu-lu-pu-uš (I : 6) and ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ša (passim in this text). The use of QA in the ethnical name Gasga was first discussed by Goetze, AM, pp. 205-206. Von Schuler assembled the occurrences in his paragraph on the name the Gasgaeans <sup>26</sup> : see e.g. in "Middle Hittite ductus" Cat. 179.6 II : 5 URUKa<sub>4</sub>-aš-ga (also to be found in II : 8, 9 (URUKa<sub>4</sub>-<aš->ka<sub>4</sub> !), 13; see also in the same text MŠa-a-uš-k[a<sub>4</sub>? ...] in III : 14. But it should be added that even in this text the name of the Gasgaeans is not exclusively written with initial QA.

The increasing use of CVC signs as well as a more frequent use of logograms may also be found elsewhere in those regions where cuneiform was written during the second millennium. In his description of the Middle Babylonian syllabary Jucquois remarks : "Contrairement à l'usage v.B., les signes du type C+V+C sont employés assez fréquemment, même en dehors des finales, sans pour autant que le timbre de la voyelle médiane soit toujours assuré" <sup>27</sup>. Describing the Hurrian syllabary Jucquois points out : "Ainsi il y a fréquemment confusion, dans la graphie, entre sonores, sourdes et emphatiques, par exemple le signe Labat 62 qui avait en v.B. la valeur qa, reçoit dans ces régions les valeurs ka<sub>4</sub> et ga<sub>5</sub> en surplus" <sup>28</sup>. Could it be possible that especially this last phenomenon in the Hittite field was prompted by the important influence of southerly Hurro-Luwian elements during the early decades of the Empire period?

My impression is that these new habits made themselves initially felt during the reign of Tudhaliyas II and that they spread under his co-regent and successor Arnuwandas I, to whose reign many texts belonging to group C seem to belong (cf. -ten in Cat. 87, 88, 89 and 99). I am therefore not so sure that Miss Kammenhuber's dating of the change in spelling habits to the reign of Mursilis II will

<sup>26</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, p. 84 ff.

<sup>27</sup> G. Jucquois, *Phonétique comparée des Dialectes moyen-babyloniens du Nord et de l'Ouest*, Louvain, 1966, p. 60; see also E. Reiner, *A Linguistic Analysis of Akkadian*, Den Haag, 1966, par. 2.3 on pp. 29-30.

<sup>28</sup> See G. Jucquois, *ibidem*, p. 61.

stand the test of a more detailed criticism <sup>29</sup>. Apparently the changes in the syllabary, e.g. the use of QA, preceded the more frequent application of logograms and CVC signs. These, in their turn, led to a sharp decrease in the use of plene writings in order to denote stress. The texts belonging to the reign of Arnuwandas present us with an intermediary stage : logographic writings and CVC signs already are winning in importance, but the plene writings meant to denote stress are still fully present. If the new dating for the texts of group C should prove to be correct, the borderline between both spellings would move slightly upwards and the changes would thus have taken place between the early decennia of the Empire period and the end of Suppiluliumas' reign. Perhaps I may recall here that the linguistic evidence as presented at the end of the preceding Chapter seems to point to precisely the same period, i.e. after the time during which -uš interchanges with -aš to express the acc. plur. comm. gen. of the Enclitic pronoun (the early decennia of the Empire) but before the gloss sign is used as a Luwian marker (the end of Suppiluliumas' reign or the beginning of the period of Mursilis II).

Of course it should be acknowledged that again we are faced by a dilemma : is the free variation of e.g. -te-en/-ten typical for the tablets of an intermediary period, or were the examples of -ten introduced by later copyists ? I must confess that my initial impression was that the latter had been the case, but fortunately this is precluded by the fact that at least one text in "Middle Hittite ductus" preserves the writing -ten <sup>30</sup>. One might also point to Cat. 89, the indictment of Madduwattas, where the erasure in Rev. : 86-87 makes it virtually certain that we are dealing with an original or, perhaps, a draft, but not with a later copy : in this text -te-en and -ten are both to be found. There where we are indeed certain that a text of Tudhaliyas II was copied during the second half of the 13th century B.C., we only find -ten (Cat. 172 II : 8 and 9).

Fortunately there happens to be one composition which gives a very adequate impression of what happened when an Old Hittite text was copied during the second half of the 13th century B.C. <sup>31</sup>. This is the "Ritual for the Erection of a

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 179 note 13 : "Als Archaisch (jetzt Archaisch-Jungheth.) werden hier Texte in einer altertümlicheren, weniger mit Sumerogrammen und Akkadogrammen durchsetzten Graphik zusammengefasst, die sich deutlich von der uns geläufigen jungh. Graphik, als deren Urheber vielleicht Mursilis II. in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jhd's v. Chr. anzusehen ist, unterscheidet".

<sup>30</sup> According to Professor Güterbock XXXI 103 is written in "Middle Hittite ductus" (see above, p. 49) and this tablet (Cat. 178.10) preserves the writing -ten in lines 13 and 19.

<sup>31</sup> See already A. Kammenhuber, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 195 ff. and O. Carruba, *Verbalendungen*, p. 88.

New Palace", Cat. 308, edited by B. Schwartz<sup>32</sup> and translated by Goetze,<sup>33</sup> while important passages were dealt with by Güterbock<sup>34</sup>. The colophon of XXIX 1 (Cat. 308 A) mentions Pikkus as the scribe who wrote this copy and adds that it was written "in the presence of" or "under dictation from" (?) Anuwanza, the well-known archivist of the period of Tudhaliyas IV<sup>35</sup>. Already Ehelolf commented on the archaic character of copy C, XXIX 3, in his introductory remarks to that KUB-volume. Professor Güterbock has been so kind as to look at that tablet and he confirms that it is indeed written in "Old Script" (personal communication during the summer of 1967). It is likely that copies A and B (XXIX 1 and 2 respectively) were copied from C.

A few indications suggest that Pikkus' copy has indeed been dictated: 1) omission of syllables in ú-e-še-ja-at-ta<-at> (I : 33), nu-uš-ma<-aš>-ša-an and hu-u-uk-ke<-eš>-kán-zi (I : 42), ú-e<-re>-et-ma-an-ši-kán (II : 19 in contrast to ú-e-ri-ti-ma-an in II : 34), ma-ni-iḫ-hi!<-ir> (II : 49); 2) omission of clauses in I : 26-27 as compared to C I : 7-8; 3) signs left unfinished in ma-al-di'-ja-an-zi (II : 8), ma-ni-iḫ-hi!<-ir> (II : 49) and perhaps in na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-ta-an? (II : 50); 4) repetition of a word (in IV : 16 kat-ta(-ma) is repeated from IV : 15; it should have been ša-ra-a-ma).

Copy B omits a syllable in [li]-li-iš-ki-it<-ten> (II : 10). In B II : 6 we find GIŠ-ZU instead of GIŠMA (A II : 14). Apparently B's scribe, or the man who dictated to him, misread the (hyp)archetype C (?), which is unfortunately not preserved for this passage. The man who dictated Pikkus (Anuwanza (?)) evaded this pitfall! The second mistake does not preclude dictation, since we know for certain that in Hattusas, just like in the places of origin for some Amarna letters, the Akkadograms and the Sumerograms themselves were dictated and not their Hittite values. The best example to prove this point is XIV 13 I : 51 (Cat. 269.4) where LÚ.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ clearly is a mistake for šu-me-eš DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ<sup>36</sup>. But it is clear from this second mistake that both texts were not copied at the same time and dictated by the same man.

It is interesting to see that Pikkus changed a-ap-pa to EGIR-pa, nu-mu-uz to nu-mu-za, <sup>D</sup>Ḫal-ma-aš-šu-i-iz to GIŠDAG-iz, ne-e-pí-ša-aš to ne-pí-ša-aš. He consistently writes ma-aḫ-ḫa-an, EGIR-pa and *Ú-UL*. There is a characteristic variation between -te-en and -ten, and e.g. between da-a-at-ten/da-at-ten (II :

<sup>32</sup> B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* XVI (1947), pp. 23-55.

<sup>33</sup> A. Goetze, *ANET*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 357-358.

<sup>34</sup> H G Güterbock, *RHA* fasc 43 (1942-1943), pp 102-109.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. E. Laroche, *ArchOr* XVII<sup>2</sup> (1949), p. 10 and now also *Noms des Hittites*, no. 92.

<sup>36</sup> See A. Goetze, *KIF* I, p. 246 together with note 3 printed on p. 244.

20 and 18 ff.), šu-u-ur-ku-uš/šur-ku-uš (IV : 14, 16). He preserves one example of -še instead of -ši for the dat. sing. of the Enclitic pers. pronoun 3rd person (mi-ḫu-un-ta-tar-še-kán in II : 36). The main conclusion to be drawn from this late copy is, in my opinion, that in this case dictation did lead to many modernizations, cf. Diagram 16.

## Diagram 16

EGIR-pa : 15	Ū-UL : 4
EGIR-an : 1	-te-en : 3
ma-aḫ-ḫa-an : 5	-ten : 14

Perhaps I may add a final remark on two texts which were not dictated. In the preceding Chapter I have argued that the mythological interpolations of XVII 10, Cat. 258 I A, the main version of the Telibinus Myth, go back to the Old Hittite period. The surrounding parts belonging to the mugawar, the supplication, might be considerably younger, however. It is true that one consistently finds ma-a-ḫ-ḫa-an throughout the whole composition. This indicates that the entire text cannot have been composed *after* the beginning of the Empire period. Other indications favour precisely that era. The tablet shows a gloss sign before wa-ar-ku-uš-ša-an in III : 12 and omits one before tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-aš in IV : 33. In front of the latter there should have been a Luwian marker, if this word really is the Luwian counterpart of Hittite ištamaššuwar<sup>37</sup>. It is hard to choose between two possibilities. First, the gloss sign fulfils the function of an exclamation mark in order to draw attention to the unusual form wa-ar-ku-uš-ša-an instead of wa-ar-ku-iš-ša-an, as we find in the Storm-god version (XXXIII 28 III : 6 = Laroche, *Mythologie anatolienne*, p. 117); in this case the tablet dates from the period before the end of Suppiluliumas' reign or the beginning of the period of Mursilis II<sup>38</sup>. Secondly, it is one of those tablets written by a scribe who was not too sure whether he should use a Luwian marker or not<sup>39</sup>.

In view of the fact that UŠ instead of IŠ is a mistake of the same type as ḪU instead of RI (see below), I prefer the first solution. This might be a passage where the scribe himself recognized the inadequacy of his (hyp)archetype. The presence then of a Luwian form without a marker (tumantiya-) might imply that the ritual, in which the mythological parts are embedded, dates from the

<sup>37</sup> See E. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 99.

<sup>38</sup> See H.G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* XXV (1956), p. 136.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the passages collected by Güterbock, *l.c.*, pp. 131-134. Presumably these scribes were Luwian themselves.

beginning of the Empire period, because there is more evidence for an important Luwian impact on the rituals of that period <sup>40</sup>.

But anyhow, whether the actual tablet was written before or after the change of function for the gloss sign came about, the mistakes of the scribe clearly show that he experienced considerable difficulties in the reading of his (hyp)archetype and that he felt obliged to copy only what he could make out <sup>41</sup> :

I : 34 (HU instead of RI) ka-ri!-i-e-et

I : 38 (a sequence of HI-ME instead of U-WA) [pár]-ta-u!-wa!-aš-še-et

II : 14 (HU instead of TAL) tal!-li-i-e-ed [-du]

II : 29 (PA instead of PÁR) pa-ap-pár!-aš-ša-an-ta

III : 26 (ME instead of ŠI) ar-ši!-e-ez-zi

IV : 3 (TI instead of HU-U) hu!-u!-it-ti.

It seems likely that this copy was not dictated, and this example should warn us, I think, that there is no guarantee whatsoever that spellings like ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an — even when consistently used — are only likely to occur in old manuscripts. Apparently some copyists did try to maintain old-fashioned spellings in their copies. A second example is KBo XV 10, a ritual mentioning Tudhaliyas II and Nikalmati. Again we find ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an consistently used. Still there can be no doubt that the tablet constitutes a later copy, not only because of its script as described in the Introduction to this KBo-volume, but also since the copyist himself draws attention to an erasure in his (hyp)archetype, cf. ḥaḥra in KBo XV 10 I : 28 referring to an obliterated word in the preceding line.

<sup>40</sup> See Chapter IV, p. 74 together with note 117.

<sup>41</sup> All the mistakes of the following enumeration have been corrected in Laroche's transliteration, *Mythologie anatolienne*, p. 89 ff.

#### IV. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Historical considerations have necessarily been the main criterion used so far for the dating of Hittite historical texts. In the last resort the dating of an historical composition can only be based upon a direct and unequivocal indication in either title or colophon about the royal author and his ancestry. Such clear indications are missing for the texts of group C. In a number of cases the names of either Tudhaliyas or Arnuwandas are indeed mentioned : Tudhaliyas in Cat. 85, 86, 170, 172 and 178.1 ; Arnuwandas in Cat. 86, 87, 174 and perhaps in 176, if XL 60 (Bo 7339) really belongs to that text<sup>1</sup>. But the necessary indications of a genealogical nature to determine *which* Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas are meant are curiously lacking, unless one assumes that both kings were the first of their names and that explanatory indications are therefore superfluous.

Even if one does try to apply other criteria as well, it is still necessary to test the historical consequences of this hypothetical alternative. Is this different attribution precluded in a more general sense by what we know for certain about the development of Hittite history ? In my opinion it is not : these texts certainly make as much sense during the early decades of the Empire period between the rapid successes of Tudhaliyas II and the disastrous situation in the beginning of Suppiluliumas' reign, as they do at the end of the Hittite New Empire. The customary picture of the last decades of Hittite history — a growing disintegration in the east as well as in the west — is largely based on exactly these compositions and finds no unequivocal support in other material. But it is possible to quote other sources in order to describe the chain of events which led up to the disastrous situation under Suppiluliumas I. Admittedly, these sources may be partially dependent upon one another. Still as a group, they are independent from the texts of groups B and C.

The undoubtedly and the presumably Middle Hittite texts (B and C) can without difficulty be incorporated in an historical picture for the first decades of the New Empire. And as they are combined with one another, no internal contradictions emerge. Four preliminary remarks should be made before embarking on the reconstruction of the history of this period from both groups of texts. In the first place due attention should be paid to the fact that not only the annals of Tudhaliyas II himself (Cat. 85), but also the annals in which Arnuwandas describes

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, p. 61 and Goetze, JCS XIV (1960), p. 69.



the military campaigns of his father and himself (Cat. 86) may be used for a description of the history of the Early Empire. In at least three passages of the latter text Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas are both called LUGAL.GAL, so that there can be no doubt that Arnuwandas acted as co-regent for a number of years <sup>2</sup>. A second point of importance is that the texts in which the *tuhukantis* Tudhaliyas is mentioned next to the king Arnuwandas and the queen Asmunikal should be dated to a second phase of Arnuwandas' sole rule <sup>3</sup>. Thirdly it is of importance to recognize that, once having assigned the documents in which the *tuhukantis* Tudhaliyas is included in the list of royal persons, to the later phase of Arnuwandas' reign, texts in which next to the king and the queen the princes in general are referred to should be dated to an earlier period of the sole reign of Arnuwandas <sup>4</sup>. In this way Cat. 87, 88 and 277 can be dated to a first, and Cat. 155 and 175 to a second phase of Arnuwandas' rule. Cat. 89, the indictment of Madduwattas, starts out with events from the period of His Majesty's father, and this indicates that the text itself should preferably be dated — next to the closely related Cat. 88 — to this just mentioned first phase <sup>5</sup>. Fourthly, the relation between Cat. 85 and 86 should be specified. As has already been remarked by Bossert, Karkisa, Kurupi and Lusa, three towns which are mentioned in an enumeration of conquests at the beginning of the preserved parts of Cat. 85.2, recur at the end of Cat. 86 <sup>6</sup>. This entails in my opinion that the events of Cat. 86 precede instead of follow what is described in Cat. 85.2. Therefore the campaigns of which a historical record has been preserved follow one another in roughly this order : a) Arzawa, Sariyanda, Uliwanda <sup>7</sup>, Parsuhalda <sup>8</sup> (Cat. 85.1), ..... <sup>9</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> See XXIII 21 (Cat. 86) II : 13-14, 26-27; III : 19-20, and cf. Goetze, *Madduwattas*, p. 158. The imperceptible transition in the indictment of Madduwattas from events under Tudhaliyas II ("His Majesty's father") in par. 8-15 to the crimes against His Majesty himself in par. 16-36 constitutes a second proof for Arnuwandas' co-regency.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. KBo V 7 Rev. : 46, 49 (Cat. 155); XXXI 42 III : 12, XXXI 44 I : 27, XXVI 24 IV : 5 (all belonging to Cat. 175).

<sup>4</sup> See XXVI 41 I : 19 and XXIII 68 Rev. : 7-9 (both belonging to Cat. 87); XXIII 72 Rev. : 38-39 (Cat. 88).

<sup>5</sup> See also the correspondencies between both texts mentioned in Chapter II, Chart II.

<sup>6</sup> See Bossert, *Asia*, pp. 31-32 and Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Uliwanta = Waliwanta occurs in XXIII 27 I : 8 and is also found in a newly published fragment of the "Deeds", KBo XII 26 IV : 15 near to Sallapa in line 17, in the Tawagalawa letter (XIV 3 I : 16 = Cat. 51 = Sommer, *AU*, pp. 2-3) and in the title deed for Sahurunuwas' descendants (XXVI 43 I : 42 = Cat. 81). Apparently it later belonged to Arzawa or the Lukka lands (see below, pp. 72-73).

<sup>8</sup> Parsuhalda is mentioned in XXIII 27 I : 9 and is also found in many earlier and later texts. For the localization at Aşem Höyük, 10 miles west-north-west of Aksaray, see J. Lewy, *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* Cilt I, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Yayınlarından VII. Seri no. 5, Ankara, 1947, p. 15; P. Garreli, *Assyriens*, p. 123 note 4 ("dans son cours professé au Collège de France, en 1961, J. Lewy proposait de placer Buruşhattum au Ağemhöyük, au Sud du Lac Salé"); H. Lewy, *CAH* fasc. 40, p. 18 ("According to researches conducted on the site by J. Lewy, the city is most likely to be buried under

b) [Zu]nnahara<sup>10</sup>, Adaniya<sup>11</sup>, [Si]nnuwanda<sup>12</sup> (all three belonging to Kizzuwatna), c) Arduka, Masa and Hullusiwanda, d) Arzawa, Assaratta<sup>13</sup>, e) Karkisa, Kurupi and Lusa (all three mentioned in both Cat. 86 and 85.2)<sup>14</sup>, f and g) Assuwa (two campaigns, h) and i) Gasga (two campaigns) and then, finally, j) Isuwa (and perhaps Hurri land).

Two minor points may be added. Already in 1937 Forrer pointed to the fact that the defeat of Kupanta-<sup>DKAL</sup> described in Cat. 86 may very well be identical with the events narrated in *Madduwattas*, Obv. : 53 ff<sup>15</sup>. In 1946 Bossert wrote that the small fragment XXIII 14 mentioning both Hurri land and Isuwa and also referring to Assuwa belongs to Cat. 86<sup>16</sup>. His remark undoubtedly was correct, and this piece proves that Cat. 86 also described the period for which only Cat. 85 has been preserved.

One important event of Tudhaliyas' reign is primarily known from a later source, his conquest of both Aleppo and Mitanni. Cat. 49, a later treaty between Muwatallis and Talmi-Sarrumas of Aleppo, relates in the prologue that Tudha-

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the huge mound known today as Achem Hüyük located some ten miles west-north-west of Aksaray"). Forrer, *RLA* I, p. 227 suggests identity with Pasuhalta; see also Radoszek in his edition referred to in Appendix A (Radoszek reads <sup>URU</sup>Ba7-šu-ḫal-da, suggesting that the town is the same as (KUR) <sup>URU</sup>Pa-šu-ḫal-ta in XXIII 11 II : 18 (Cat. 85.2) and as Pa-šu-u-ḫal-ta-aš (without determinative !) in XXXV 79 IV : 8 = Otten, *LTU*, p. 76 and Laroche, *DLL*, p. 130).

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain how many campaigns are missing at this point.

<sup>10</sup> The name of this town was restored by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 56 in XXIII 21 II : 4. See also KBo III 54 : 16 = 2 BoTU 17 B = Cat. 12 where Zunnahara is followed by Sinnuwanda. Zunnahara can also be found in KBo IX 108 : 8.

<sup>11</sup> Adaniya is mentioned in XXIII 21 II : 5. An important later occurrence is to be found in the boundary description belonging to the Sunassuras treaty (Cat. 36 = KBo I 5 IV : 54). For other occurrences in addition to this one and for an equation with modern Adana, see Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 56 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The name of this town was restored by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 56 in XXIII 21 II : 6. The identification with present-day Sinanti was first proposed by Forrer, *Forschungen* I, p. 21; see also Goetze, *KIF* I (1927), p. 111.

<sup>13</sup> The town of Assaratta is mentioned in XXIII 21 III : 4,5 and recurs in Cat. 294.1 (KBo II 1 II : 40) as a member of a group of places containing shrines of the Storm-god in the vicinity Mount Suwara. This second passage was first adduced by Forrer, *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 173 ff.; see also Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 108.

<sup>14</sup> Karkisa is mentioned in XXIII 21 III : 30 (Cat. 86) and in XXIII 11 II : 16 (Cat. 85.2); Kuruppiya in XXIII 21 III : 31 and XXIII 11 II : 17; Lusa in XXIII 21 III : 31 and in XXIII 11 II : 18. The successive events described in Cat. 85.2 took place during a number of years : 1) end of year with an enumeration of countries conquered; 2) year with 2 campaigns against Assuwa and a first battle against the Gasgaeans at Tiwara; 3) second campaign against Gasgaeans in the following year; 4) year of rest; 5) year with war against Isuwa.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Forrer, *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 175 on account of XXIII 21 (Cat. 86) II : 26 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See Bossert, *Asia*, p. 26.

liyas defeated both Aleppo and Mitanni<sup>17</sup>. A newly published duplicate of this treaty proves that during the reign of Tudhaliyas II the king of Aleppo first made peace with the Hittite king, but later defected to Mitanni<sup>18</sup>. This led to Tudhaliyas' war against and victory over both Mitanni and Aleppo. It seems likely that the initial rapprochement between Aleppo and Hattusas was brought about by a Hittite victory over Kizzuwatna, since an independent Kizzuwatna precludes Hittite interference in Syrian affairs.

An annexation of Kizzuwatna is mentioned in so many words in another late source, the prologue to Suppiluliumas' later treaty with Sunassuras II<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately the vague wording used — Suppiluliumas ascribes the victory to his grandfather — makes it hard to decide which Hittite king actually conquered the country of Kizzuwatna, since not all the details of the affiliation of the royal line before Suppiluliumas are quite clear. However, a treaty with an older Sunassuras (I?) of Kizzuwatna probably preceded the actual annexation<sup>20</sup>. This treaty, Cat. 94, is still based upon a strict parity between the two partners. In the event of an attack from the side of Mitanni on one of the two partners, the other partner was free help or not, but the king of Kizzuwatna was bound not to admit foreign troops into his territory and to protect his own land<sup>21</sup>. A text from Alalakh, according to which Saussatar, king of Mitanni, decided a lawsuit between Niqmepa of Alalakh and a king Sunassuras of presumably Kizzuwatna (AT n° 14) must stem from a period during which Kizzuwatna fell under the jurisdiction of Mitanni, i.e. either before the first treaty with an unnamed Hittite king, or after the later defection of Kizzuwatna to Mitanni<sup>22</sup>. In view of the customary chronology which places Saussatar around 1450 B.C., the first alternative has more to recommend it.

<sup>17</sup> See KBo I 6 (Weidner, *PD* 1 no. 6, p. 80 ff. = Goetze, *MAOG* IV 1 (1928), p. 59 ff.) Obv. : 15 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See H. Klengel, *ZA* LVI N.F. 22 (1964), p. 213 ff.; see especially [is-l]i-im in line 8. This reading brought the confirmation of a text restoration for the main text proposed by Landsberger, *JCS* VIII (1954), p. 61 note 132.

<sup>19</sup> See KBo I 5 I : 5-6 = Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 36-37 : "Previously, in the days of my grandfather, the country of Kizzuwatna had become (part) of Hatti land".

<sup>20</sup> See above p. 5 together with note 17 and note 16 on p. 44. Both VIII 81 (Cat. 36.2 B) and XXXVI 127 (Cat. 94) show a number of archaisms : nu absent in the beginning of a main clause, -še instead of -ši (VIII 81 II : 10 and III : 1); a-ap-pa instead of EGIR-pa (systematically in XXXVI 127). Some changes from VIII 81 to XXXVI 127 are of a stylistic type : e-ep-tu to e-ep-zi, pa-a-ú to pa-a-i; in one passage mu-un-na-iz-zi corresponds to ša-an-na-at-ta in XXXVI 127 and in another to ša-an-na-at-ta [na-a]n mu-un-na-iz-zi. Sometimes VIII 81 has a syllabic reading where XXXVI 127 uses an Akkadogram. This feature could be explained on the basis of the assumption that VIII 81 represents a dictated draft.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. XXXVI 127 Obv. : 7-12 (Cat. 94).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. KBo I 5 I : 5-7 = Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 36-37.

Cat. 87 — a text from the first phase of Arnuwandas' sole rule — shows that Arnuwandas was still able to settle the men of Ismerikka in various towns of Kizzuwatna purely on his own authority<sup>23</sup>. Apparently he had the right to do so. The names of these towns are : Zazlipa<sup>24</sup>, Wassukanna/i<sup>25</sup>, Arana<sup>26</sup>, Terussa, Uriga and Urussa<sup>27</sup>. At that moment Kizzuwatna still extended into regions that had formerly belonged to Mitanni. Wassukanni, the traditional capital, was reckoned to belong to Kizzuwatnaean territory. It seems as if large parts of Mitanni including the capital itself had been added to Kizzuwatna after this state had become part of the Hittite mother country.

During the first phase of Arnuwandas' sole reign, H[urri land]<sup>28</sup> probably is named as one of the countries the emissaries of which were forced to listen to the king's diatribe against Mita of Pahhuwa<sup>29</sup>. Others were Isuwa and Suhma

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 76, JAOS LXXII (1952), p. 70 and JCS XI (1957), p. 58 (but see, too, JCS VII (1953), p. 70 !). I follow Gurney in thinking that the men of Ismerikka were transferred to Kizzuwatna, cf. Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 53 and *CAH* fasc. 44, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> This placename occurs in XXIII 68 + Rev. : 12, 24. According to Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 72 and JCS XI (1957), p. 73 note 219, Zazlipa is identical with Zizzilippa in par. 24 of the Telibinus text (KBo III 1 II : 18, 19 = 2 BoTU 23 A = Cat. 21.2).

<sup>25</sup> Wassukanna is mentioned in XXIII 68 + Rev. : 13, 14, 15 and 16.

<sup>26</sup> Next to the reference in XXIII 68 + Rev. : 19, this town is also mentioned in the title deed for Sahurunuwas' descendants (XXVI 43 I : 40 = Cat. 81) in the same line as the town of Kizzuwatna.

<sup>27</sup> Urussa occurs in XXIII 68 + Rev. : 22 and 23. It is also mentioned in the Cat. 36, Suppiluliumas' treaty with Sunassuras II (KBo I 5 IV : 6 = *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 41-42) and in the title deed for Sahurunuwas' descendants (in the same line as Arana and Kizzuwatna, XXVI 43 I : 40 = Cat. 81). For this group as a whole, see Goetze, JCS VII (1953), p. 70 : "If Ismerik extends from the vicinity of Isuwa to Irrita, the Kizzuwatnaean territory referred to should be to the northwest of the Euphrates between its break-through into the plain and Kargamish, i.e. in Kommagene. We would have to assume then that Zazlipa, Wassukanna, Arana, Terussa, Uriga and Urussa are places in Kommagene". Goetze continues : "This would mean that Wassukanna, here mentioned several times, is different from the capital of the Mitanni kingdom". Personally I doubt the inevitability of this conclusion. Apparently Goetze later changed his mind again, returning to his original position, cf. note 23.

<sup>28</sup> This text restoration was first proposed by Sommer, *AU*, p. 47 and later accepted by Gurney, *AAA XXVIII* (1948), pp. 37 and 43. See also p. 4 together with note 14. This geographical entity has been a matter of controversy for a long time, cf. M. Liverani, *Hurri e Mitanni*, *Oriens Antiquus* I (1962), p. 253 ff. Usually it is identical with the state of Mitanni, but sometimes it seems to denote independent Hurrian forces (e.g. after the conquest of Mitanni by Tudhaliyas II). In addition to XXIII 72 Rev. : 36 and XXXI 103 : 18 (Cat. 178.10), see also XXIII 14 II : 3 (Cat. 86), XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 17 (Cat. 283 C) and KBo XI 40 VI : 11 (Cat. 533). A king of the Hurrians is mentioned in Cat. 85.2 (XXIII 11 III : 28).

<sup>29</sup> The town of Pahhuwa occurring repeatedly in XXIII 72 has been identified by Garstang, *AAA XXVIII* (1948), pp. 48-54 with modern Divriği. The town recurs in Mursilis' Extensive Annals, KBo V 8 IV : 20 = AM, pp. 162-163. See also XXXI 103, left rim : 1 as restored above, p. 4 note 14.

as well as the towns of Maltiya<sup>30</sup> and Pittiyarik<sup>31</sup> (Cat. 88). Probably all these countries had already been conquered during the reign of Tudhaliyas II. A campaign against Isuwa (and Hurri land (?) ) is actually mentioned in Cat. 85 and 86.

Tudhaliyas II stands out as an active, highly successful monarch, warrior and hunter and apparently at the end of his career a legislator as well (see in this respect Cat. 172; Cat. 178.1 and the closely related 179.9 might be slightly younger and could stem from a later king Tudhaliyas). No Hittite king penetrated so far to the west. During his campaigns he twice vanquished Arzawa and afterwards in the northwest the country of Assuwa (Cat. 85; see also Cat. 86 and 172). Both Cat. 85 and 86 prove that these Assuwa campaigns took place before the conflict with Isuwa. In the context of this latter conflict the Hurrian king plays an indeterminate role, since Cat. 85.2 is badly broken at this point of the narrative<sup>32</sup>. Apparently Tudhaliyas' victory over Assuwa was hailed as an important achievement, since the law-text Cat. 172 opens with these words: "When I had destroyed Assuwa and had returned to Hattusas, I performed (the festivals of) the gods and the whole Hittite population began to pay homage to me and they spoke as follows: "Majesty, you, our lord, are a warrior (?), but you were unable to administer justice". The remainder of the text is then devoted to a reform of law<sup>33</sup>. One important point deserves to be duly stressed: already Tudhaliyas had to combat the Gasgaeans who would prove a threat to the very existence of the state during the following generations (Cat. 85).

At the height of his career Tudhaliyas II apparently exercised supreme suzerainty over a very large territory stretching from the west coast of Asia Minor to Aleppo and to the mountainous regions of Malatya, Isuwa and Suhma in the east. At that moment he ruled over an empire that can stand a comparison to the Old Hittite kingdom at the zenith of its power. There can be no doubt that he was one of the greatest Hittite kings, on a par with figures like Hattusilis and Mursilis for the kingdom period and Suppiluliumas I and Mursilis II for later Empire times.

<sup>30</sup> Maltiya (near modern Malatya) occurs in XXIII 72 Rev. : 37 and probably also in XXXI 103, left rim : 4 (Cat. 178.10), see above p. 4 note 14. It recurs in 679/z - the Hittite concept for an official letter to Salmanassar I (1274-1245 B.C.) —, cf. Otten, AfO XXII (1968-1969), pp. 112-113.

<sup>31</sup> This place name occurs in XXIII 72 Rev. : 77 and has been restored by Forrer, *Caucasia IX* (1931), pp. 7 and 20 in Rev. : 1 and 37 (the newly published piece XL 10 joins to XXIII 72 Rev. : 36-39 and proves Forrer right for Rev. : 37!). In contrast to Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 36 and Goetze, JCS XIV (1960), p. 47, I much prefer a localization of Pittiyarik and Samuha on the Euphrates or on the Murad Su instead of on the Halys, cf. Alp, *Anatolia I* (1956), p. 77 ff. and Güterbock, JNES XX (1961), p. 96 (see also Garstang, JNES I (1942), pp. 450-459 before this scholar changed his mind on this point).

<sup>32</sup> See below, p. 78.

Above I have already commented upon the fact that in a text from the first phase of Arnuwandas' reign H[urri land] seems to be mentioned as a state under formal Hittite rule (Cat. 88). This tablet attests to a widespread unrest in the northeast of the Empire, as will be sketched below. In another composition from this period, which seems to be closely related with Cat. 88, Hurri land is referred to as a potential enemy of the Hittite king (Cat. 178.10)<sup>34</sup>. Therefore this text might be slightly younger. It would be possible to assume that after the conquest of Mitanni and the annexation of its capital to Kizzuwatna the term Hurri land was still used for a more northerly group of Hurrian forces bordering upon Isuwa and Suhma in the direction of Lake Van. It is possible, in my opinion, that the migration of the nobles of Ismerikka<sup>35</sup> to various towns in Kizzuwatna took place under pressure from such enemies (cf. Cat. 87 as referred to above). But in another, presumably later text from this same general period, Cat. 283 C, Hurri land and Mitanni are again clearly used as synonyms for the same geographical and political entity<sup>36</sup>.

In the northeast (Mita of Pahhuwa, Cat. 88) and in the west (Madduwattas, Cat. 89) the situation suddenly deteriorated from bad to worse, and apparently this already took place during the first phase of Arnuwandas' sole rule. Both texts, Madduwattas and Mita of Pahhuwa, have justly been compared to one another. The wording of both compositions shows remarkable similarities, and their subject matter is essentially the same. Both texts center around the misbehaviour of an unfaithful vassal of the Hittite king.

Madduwattas, a western prince of Zippasla, who had fled from Attarissiya, man of Ahhiya, to Tudhaliyas and had been re-installed as vassal prince over the mountainous region of Zippasla, was clearly dissatisfied with a subordinate role<sup>37</sup>. His first attempts met with disaster, and twice he had to be saved by Hittite commanders from a menacing enemy force, first when he fought with Arzawa and secondly when Attarissiya renewed his attack. Thereafter Madduwattas began to deceive his Hittite protector. He intrigued with the inhabitants of

<sup>33</sup> Cf. von Schuler, *Hethitische Königsurkunde*, pp. 446 and 448-449.

<sup>34</sup> See XXXI 103 Obv. : 17 ff. (Cat. 178.10) in a fragmentary passage.

<sup>35</sup> For a localization from the vicinity of Isuwa to Irrita/e, see Goetze, JCS VII (1953), p. 70 as quoted in note 27.

<sup>36</sup> See XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 17 (hur-la-aš KUR-e) and ibidem : 21 (KUR <sup>URU</sup>Mi-it-ta-an-ni). Mitanni is repeatedly mentioned in XXXVI 127 Obv. : 7, 11, 13 (Cat. 94). See also the "Fremdländer Liste" in KBo II 9 + XV 35 I : 25 = KBo II 36 I : 7 (Cat. 406) and in XV 34 I : 52 (Cat. 416).

<sup>37</sup> From the wording of *Madduwattas*, Obv. : 13 ff., par. 4, follows in my opinion that Hariyati is not identical with Zippasla. Madduwattas had been offered the mountain of Hariyati, but he refused this fief which seems to have been close to Hatti land. Apparently Zippasla was much farther to the west.

Dalawa<sup>38</sup> and made that town tributary to himself instead of to the Hittite king. Later, during the co-regency of Arnuwandas, he concluded a treaty with Kupanta-<sup>D</sup>KAL, king of Arzawa and important adversary of the Hittite interests. During a later stage of his career he asked His Majesty's father for Siyanta river land<sup>39</sup> under the promise that he would guard the Hittite frontiers against the enemy<sup>40</sup>. He apparently received it as a fief, and in the ensuing sequence of events he finally took the whole of Arzawa<sup>41</sup>.

At that time the country of Mira-Kuwaliya was apparently non-existent. Madduwattas received Siyanta river land from His Majesty's father, and his treason with respect to Hapalla (see below) was exposed by Antahittas, GAL [.....], and by Mazlauwas, "the man of Kuwali"<sup>42</sup>. Later, during the reign of Mursilis II, both the Siyanta river and Kuwali<sup>43</sup> form landmarks of the country Mira-Kuwaliya<sup>44</sup>.

Some time later he added Hapalla<sup>45</sup>, a Hittite possession, to his domain and took a whole group of towns of unknown location but presumably lying some-

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<sup>38</sup> Dalawa is also known from the "Fremdländer Liste" XV 34 I : 60 (Cat. 416) where it occurs before Masa. It is also found in XXIII 83 (Cat. 114) : in connection with Kuwalapassa (ibidem : 1, 9), Iyalanda (ibidem : 5, 7) and Awarua (ibidem : 22). Of these Kuwalapassa and Iyalanda are in late texts connected with the Lukka lands (cf. notes 48 and 105). Awarua recurs in the Milawata letter (XIX 55 left rim : 1 ff. = Sommer, *AU*, pp. 204-205) and in XXXIV 43 : 5 (cf. note 99).

<sup>39</sup> The Siyanta river is mentioned in *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 11, 14 and 15. For an identification with the Senarus (Turkisch Banaz), a tributary of the Maeander, see Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Forrer, *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 168 together with note 3 : Forrer reads ú?-e-e[k]-ta in Rev. : 11 and adds three signs at the end of line 12 which had been neglected according to Forrer by Goetze (cf. Forrer, l.c., note 4). It is possible, but not necessary to assume with Forrer that Madduwattas had definitely lost Zippasla in the meantime to Attarissiya.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Forrer, l.c., p. 167 ff. who rightly stresses Rev. : 20. But it is true that Kupanta-<sup>D</sup>KAL is still mentioned at a later point of the narrative, Rev. : 43 ff. Is that a retrospective passage?

<sup>42</sup> Reading ḫa-an-ti-ti-ja-tal-le-eš at the end of Rev. : 28, cf. Forrer, l.c., p. 169 note 2.

<sup>43</sup> This town is mentioned in *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 28. For a localization of the land of Mira to the south and west of the Akar Çay, see Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 91.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Friedrich, *Staatsv.* I, pp. 116-117, par. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Hapalla occurs in XXIII 11 II : 16 (Cat. 85.2), in *Madduwattas*, passim, and of course in numerous younger texts. For a localization in the Hermos valley, see Güterbock, *Istanb. Mitt.* XVII (1967), p. 70.

where on the west coast of Asia Minor <sup>46</sup>: Zumanti, Wallarimma <sup>47</sup>, Yalanti (= Iyalanda) <sup>48</sup>, Zumarri, Mutamutassa <sup>49</sup>, Attarimma, Suruta and Hursanassa <sup>50</sup>. In eastern direction he expanded towards Pitassa <sup>51</sup> and he persuaded the commanders and the "aldermen" (LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI) of that region to desert the Hittite camp and to join him. Although he had started out in a central, mountainous region, his territory apparently now extended to the sea. A coalition consisting of Attarissiya, his former enemy but now one of his allies, "the man from Pig-gaya", and Madduwattas himself, was even able to ravage Alasiya, the island of Cyprus <sup>52</sup>.

The other tablet is in the form of an official address to the aldermen of Isuwa, Pahhuwa, Suhma, H[urri] land], Maltiya and Pittiyarik. The obverse of the tablet and about thirty lines of the reverse as well are devoted to a description of Mita's crimes. He married the daughter of Usapa, an outspoken enemy of the Hittite king, and apparently this had been the first step in a mischievous career. Pahhuwa had been asked for extradition of Mita together with all his family, dependants and possessions. The addressees of the text are held responsible for the town's behaviour in the days to come. In two passages the names of these representatives together with their city of origin are enumerated. Many of the place names are missing on account of the fragmentary character of the tablet, some of them are unknown from other texts, but Alatarma <sup>53</sup>, Hinzuta <sup>54</sup>, Sul-

<sup>46</sup> See *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 29-30 and 57.

<sup>47</sup> Wallarimma is mentioned in XXIII 11 II : 7 (Cat. 85.2) as a conquest of Tudhaliyas II. In XXI 6 Rev. : 7 (Cat. 72) Wallarimma occurs after the Lukka lands have been mentioned in the preceding line.

<sup>48</sup> Iyalanda as the place name is written in XXIII 83 : 5, 7 (Cat. 114) and in the Tawagalawa letter (XIV 3 I : 18 ff. = Cat. 51 = Sommer, *AU*, p. 2 ff.) occurs in the "Fremdländer Liste" XV 34 I : 61 (Cat. 416) as URU<sub>I</sub>-ja-la-an-ti and in *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 29, as URU<sub>I</sub>-la-la-an-ti (cf. also Rev. : 57 URU<sub>I</sub>-ja-la[-an-ti ...]).

<sup>49</sup> In *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 30, the name of this town is written URUMu-ú-ta-mu-ú-ta-aš-ša. Perhaps URUMu-ta-mu-ta-ši, as mentioned in KBo XVI 47 : 5, should be considered as identical or otherwise related.

<sup>50</sup> Attarimma, Hursanassa and Suruta are known from Mursilis' Arzawa campaign (XIV 15 III : 28 ff. = *AM*, p. 52; XIV 16 III : 30 ff. = *AM*, p. 58). All this conclusively proves that these towns were located in the west, presumably on the coast, but from what we know now it is hard to deduce more precise localizations.

<sup>51</sup> Next to the country of Lukka the country of Pitassa is mentioned in XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 27 (Cat. 283 C). See also *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 39, 42 and 50. Already long ago Goetze located Pitassa around (and most likely north of) Konya, cf. Klf I (1927), p. 110 ff., *Madduwattas*, pp. 148 and 153, more recently, JCS XIV (1960), p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> *Madduwattas*, Rev. : 84 ff. = Sommer, *AU*, p. 337 ff.

<sup>53</sup> The town of Alatarma is mentioned in XXIII 72 Rev. : 34 (Cat. 88) and recurs in Cat. 533.1 (II 1 I : 45; III : 36), for which see p. 75. An eastern location follows from KBo IV 14 II : 11 (Cat. 92).

<sup>54</sup> This town — mentioned in XXIII 72 Rev. : 33 — can also be found in the Old Hittite text Cat. 8.2 (XXXVI 103 : 4) where the context unmistakably suggests an easterly location.



lama<sup>55</sup>, Dukkamma<sup>56</sup> and Wattarusna<sup>57</sup> are known from other material and their approximate location is in good agreement with the larger entities, as mentioned above.

The composition does indeed suggest that there were dangerous signs of unrest in the eastern provinces during the reign of Arnuwandas. Indirect remarks shed important light on the events of the period: "[..... And as for those who] escaped from before [the army] [of My Majesty], the people of Arhita [... if any of them] has come in, [bring] everyone in"<sup>58</sup>. Arhita<sup>59</sup> was a town in the Hayasa region just like Dukkamma, which is mentioned as the town of origin for one of the aldermen taken under oath in this text<sup>60</sup>. Isuwa<sup>61</sup>, Kummaha<sup>62</sup> (and Timmiya<sup>63</sup>?) have been invaded from Pahhuwa<sup>64</sup> and the king — Arnuwandas — has campaigned in Kummaha<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> The town of Sullama occurs in XXIII 72 Rev. : 32. In the geographical list belonging to Muwatallis' "Prayer to be spoken in an Emergency" it is mentioned in the group of Isuwa (VI 45 II : 64 = VI 46 III : 30 = Cat. 285).

<sup>56</sup> The town of Dukkamma is mentioned in XXIII 72 Rev. : 1. Dukkamma recurs later in Mursilis' Annals as a town of Hayasa (KBo III 4 IV : 37, 40 = *AM*, pp. 132-137; KBo IV 4 IV : 17, 18, 24, 25 = *AM*, pp. 134-137). In view of the fact that Arhita forms another link between Cat. 88 and the Hayasa region, I see no reason to assume that there were two towns of the same name, as is done by Cornelius, *Anatolica* I (1967), p. 69. See especially Forrer, *Causasica* IX (1931), pp. 6, 8 and 19 where Dukkammana (Cat. 39 : XXVI 39 I! : 33) is compared to Dukkamma.

<sup>57</sup> This place name occurs in XXIII 72 Rev. : 33. See Forrer, *Glotta* XXVI (1938), p. 180 note 3 for additional references, none of which is conclusive as far as the location is concerned.

<sup>58</sup> XXIII 72 Obv. : 43-45.

<sup>59</sup> The town of Arhita is mentioned not only in XXIII 72 Obv. : 43, but also in XXVI 39 I! : 32 (Cat. 39), a Hayasa treaty dealt with by Forrer, *Causasica* IX (1931), p. 6 ff., and in XXVI 62 IV : 34 (Cat. 160 = von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer*, pp. 142-145), cf. already Forrer, l.c., p. 8. In the last text the name is written as <sup>URU</sup>E-er-ḫi-ta. Both Arhita and Dukkamma (see above) form links between the geographical background to Cat. 88 and the Hayasa region.

<sup>60</sup> XXIII 72 Rev. : 1.

<sup>61</sup> XXIII 72 Rev. : 13 ff. and perhaps also the passage adduced in note 64.

<sup>62</sup> The town of Kummaha is mentioned in XXIII 72 Obv. : 31 and Rev. : 16. It is also known from the "Fremdländer Liste" KBo II 9 + XV 35 I : 35 (next to Hayasa ! Cat. 406) and from XV 34 I : 58 (Cat. 416). It recurs in an early piece of the "Deeds", fr. 13 D IV : 43-44 = JCS X (1956), p. 66. In view of the fact that in this fragment it was the scene of a battle field in a war against Hayasa, I doubt the identity with Assyrian Kummuhu and Greek Kommagene proposed by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 5 note 21 and p. 47 note 183. Forrer, *Causasica* IX (1931), p. 2 and Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 35 equated it with modern Kemakh. An enemy force from Kummaha is mentioned in IBoT I 36 III : 35-36 (Cat. 169 = L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* XI (1966), pp. 194-195), see below p. 68.

<sup>63</sup> Timmiya is mentioned in XXIII 72 Obv. : 32. It might be identical with <sup>URU</sup>Te-mi-ja in XXVI 62 IV : 36 (Cat. 160 = von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer*, pp. 142-145), cf. Forrer, *Causasica* IX (1931), p. 8. Goetze, *JCS* XIV (1960), p. 46 compares it to Timna/Timmina in KBo I 1 I : 12, 21 (Cat. 32) in the so-called Isuwa list.

<sup>64</sup> XXIII 72 Obv. : 30 ff.

<sup>65</sup> XXIII 72 Rev. : 16 ff.

Because the *tuhukantis Tudhaliyas* is not yet mentioned in Cat. 277, it is probable that this royal prayer by Arnuwandas and Asmunikal about the disruption of the cults in those districts which had been ravaged by the Gasgaeans still belongs to the first phase of his sole rule. In two passages the lost districts are enumerated <sup>66</sup> : Nerik <sup>67</sup>, Hursama, Kastama <sup>68</sup>, Serissa, Himuwa <sup>69</sup>, Taggasta, Kammama, Zalpuwa, Kapiuha, Hurna, Dankusna, Tapasawa, Tarukka <sup>70</sup>, Ilaluha, Zihhana <sup>71</sup>, Sipidduwa <sup>72</sup>, Washaya <sup>73</sup>, Patalliya (A II : 20-25) and Kastama, Taggasta, Serissa, Tastaressa, Takkupsa, Kammama and Nerik (A III : 7-10). In my opinion the Gasgaean treaties dating from this period — in the first place Cat. 179.6, but perhaps Cat. 95, 96 and the majority of Cat. 97 as well — bear some relation to the negotiations with the Gasgaeans which are alluded to in this prayer <sup>74</sup>. When von Schuler published his book, he was led by his different dating of this material to a contrary opinion, but now such a connection seems to be well-founded.

These treaties show that it was good Hittite policy to differentiate between allied and hostile groups among the Gasgaean nomads. A settlement or tribe

<sup>66</sup> Von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, passim has extensively dealt with all these place names. I limit my remarks to new data.

<sup>67</sup> This place name also occurs in XXI 10 : 3 ("Deeds", fr. 50 = JCS X (1956), p. 117 ff.). For this text, see below p. 80. It is not a coincidence that the *MELQET*-lists of KBo XVI 71-73, 74, 76, 80 and 84, which refer to northerly sanctuaries and name Nerik (KBo XVI 72 : 4) and Kastama (KBo XVI 73 : 5 and 74 : 8), are written in "Old Script". These texts go back to the period before these towns were lost to the Gasgaeans.

<sup>68</sup> For the occurrence of this place name in the *MELQET*-lists, see the preceding note.

<sup>69</sup> This place name also occurs in XIII 2 III : 33 (Cat. 176 A = von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstleistungen*, p. 48). For this town, see Goetze, JCS VII (1953), p. 69. Apparently warriors from this town enjoyed certain privileges during the Old Kingdom period which they shared with the Manda and Sala warriors (for Sala see also XXVI 62 IV : 33 = Cat. 160 = von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 145) and men from Hatra (in Isuwa), Zalpa and Tashiniya. In the instructions to the Commander of the Border Guards quoted below, troops from Himuwa are mentioned next to soldiers from Kassiya, Tegarama and Isuwa. There seems to have been a continuous tradition to recruit troops in the north and the northeast. The Old Kingdom evidence referred to above can be found in Tablet I of the Laws, par. 54.

<sup>70</sup> An approximate localization of Tarukka is possible on the basis of its occurrence in the "Deeds", fr. 34 : 35 = JCS X (1956), p. 110.

<sup>71</sup> Zihhana recurs in the Extensive Annals of Mursilis II, fr. 3 III : 6 (= MIO III (1955), p. 168). For an approximate localization, see the writer, *Anatolica I* (1967), p. 48 and Chart II on p. 57.

<sup>72</sup> As Sipidduwa this town recurs later in the "Deeds" and in the Annals of Mursilis. For an approximate localization, see the writer, *Anatolica I* (1967), p. 48 and Chart II on p. 57.

<sup>73</sup> The town of Washaya recurs in the "Deeds", fr. 34 : 33 = JCS X (1956), p. 109 and may be restored in the additional fragment of Mursilis' Extensive Annals KBo XIV 20 II : 7 (= JNES XXV (1966), pp. 173 and 181). For an approximate localization, see the writer, *Anatolica I* (1967), p. 48.

<sup>74</sup> XVII 21 IV : 11 ff. (Cat. 277 = von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, pp. 160-161).

which had been pacified was called a takšulaš URU-aš in contrast to a kururaš URU-aš <sup>75</sup>. One is reminded of this distinction when — in the instruction for the Palace Guards — the term EREM.MEŠ URUQa-a-aš-ga ku-u-ru-ra-aš is used in the description of the proceedings for an interlocution between the king and an enemy force from the north <sup>76</sup>. In the same context troops from Kummaha are also referred to. This passage is worth mentioning, because the instruction IBoT I 36 (Cat. 169) for the Palace Guards shows a number of clear Middle Hittite traits <sup>77</sup>. Both the Gasgaeans and enemies from Kummaha recur a number of times in historical texts from this period.

One important text undoubtedly belongs to the second phase of Arnuwandas' reign, and this is Cat. 175 which embodies the pacts this king concluded with the dignitaries of a group northern of towns centering around Kinnara, Kalasma/HAR-ranassa and Kissiya. Cat. 155 — the land grant decree in favour of Ku-watallas, the SAL.SUHUR.LAL and authoress of a well-known group of Luwian rituals, — provides a second text stemming from the second phase of Arnuwandas' reign. Generally speaking it may be said that the treaties with the Gasgaeans and with the town of Ura <sup>78</sup> on the one hand <sup>79</sup>, and the instructions for the Mayor of Hattusas (Cat. 174) and the Commander of the Border Guards (Cat. 176) on the other, all suggest that there was a growing need for strong measures against unrest and disorder.

The situation described in Cat. 283 C — war against the Hurrians, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa, and movements for independence in Gasgaean territory (the north), (Arawanna) <sup>80</sup> and Kalasma <sup>81</sup> (the northwest), Lukka and Pitassa (the west) — perhaps prevailed during the second phase of Arnuwandas' reign but could

<sup>75</sup> Cf. XXIII 77 + (Cat. 95) and XXVI 19 (Cat. 97.1), both *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> IBoT I 36 III : 35-36 (Cat. 169 = L. Jakob-Rost, MIO XI (1966). pp. 194-195). The comparison with XXVI 19 was already made by Sommer, ZA XLIX N.F. 15 (1950), p. 344.

<sup>77</sup> The text consistently writes ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an, shows both ti-i-e-ez-zi and ti-ja-az-zi, ti-en-zi and ti-an-zi, uses apē as nom. plur. comm. gen., parnašša as "directive", writes ne-e-a-ri and has iskidahḫi and manninkuwaḫḫi as 3rd pers. sing. Present tense.

<sup>78</sup> In the first place there is a city <sup>URU</sup>U-ra-a, known from XXVI 29 + XXXI 55 : 9 (Cat. 99), KBo XVI 43 : 9 and recurring in the Annals of Mursilis II, XIV 17 III : 21, 24 = AM, pp. 98-99. This city belonged to Azzi-Hayasa. But there may be a second and different <sup>URU</sup>U-ra-a, occurring in KBo XVI 47, *passim*, and also in the "Fremdländer Liste" KBo II - + XV 35 I : 38 (Cat. 406).

<sup>79</sup> It is possible that we should reckon with two treaties, both concluded by Arnuwandas I and both referring to a town Ura. Cat. 99 is usually dated to Arnuwandas' reign and in view of the personal name Huhazalmas it seems likely that KBo XVI 47 also belongs to the time of Arnuwandas, see above p. 4 together with note 13.

<sup>80</sup> Arawanna may be restored in XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 27 from the later revision Cat. 283 A. For a localization in the northwest, see Forrer, RLA I, p. 139 and also Goetze, JCS XIV (1960), p. 45ff.

<sup>81</sup> For a northwestern localization, see Goetze, JCS XIV (1960), p. 45 ff.

also refer to the reign of a later predecessor of Suppiluliumas. At the moment Cat. 283 C was composed, Pitassa had already fallen to Madduwattas or to his successor. There was already or, more precisely, once more an open conflict with Arzawa. The reference to war in the east with both the Hurrians and Kizzuwatna clearly indicates that the text is posterior to Cat. 87 and 88. I have already mentioned that in Cat. 283 C Hurri land and Mitanni again refer to the same political entity. This also points to a slightly later date for this text. But it should be stressed that the general tone of Cat. 283 C bears testimony to a wide expansion of the Hittite Empire in a recent past.

Perhaps I should add here that Suppiluliumas' treaty with Sunassuras II indicates that after the country of Kizzuwatna "had become (part) of Hatti land" it "afterwards seceded from Hatti land and shifted allegiance to Hurri land" <sup>82</sup>. It is unclear whether this happened during the reign of the same king who had conquered Kizzuwatna or in the time of another predecessor of Suppiluliumas on the Hittite throne. Two other texts bear on the history of Kizzuwatna during this general period. Kantuzzilis, a Hittite prince who also acted as general under a king Tudhaliyas, was made priest in Kizzuwatna just like Telibinus in the time of Suppiluliumas <sup>83</sup>. Mursilis II relates how one of his ancestors, the great king Tudhaliyas, for one reason or another transposed the "Black Deity" from the town of Kizzuwatna to Samuha <sup>84</sup>.

A date, late in the reign of Arnuwandas, probably holds good for the instructions to the Commander of the Border Guards, which mention troops from Kassiya,

<sup>82</sup> See KBo I 5 I : 5-7 = Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>83</sup> Kantuzzilis is the name of a general mentioned in XXIII 16 III : 5, 7 (Cat. 123.8) who served under a king Tudhaliyas, see below, p. 78. He might be the same as the general mentioned in the "Deeds" fr. 2 and 3 (= JCS X (1956), p. 60). It seems likely that this Kantuzzilis was the son of a Tudhaliyas (cf. Güterbock's text restoration in fragment 2). He could very well be identical with the bearer of this same name Kantuzzilis who is mentioned in Cat. 179 : XXXIV 40 : 9 (Cat. 179.1), XXXVI 112 : 3 (Cat. 179.3), XXXVI 113 : 9 (Cat. 179.4), XXXVI 114 II : 10, 12 (Cat. 179.5), XXXVI 118 : 3 (Cat. 179.8), XXXIV 58 I : 4 (Cat. 291.5, but in fact related to Cat. 179). However, the general from the time of Mursilis II should preferably be kept separate : XIV 17 II : 20 ff. = *AM*, p. 86 and now also KBo VIII 34 + KBo XVI 12 : 8 = JNES XXV (1966), p. 168. He might be a grandson of the preceding general.

The author of the prayer to the Sun-god XXX 10 (Cat. 275) could very well be the Kantuzzilis mentioned in the colophon XVII 22 IV : 1 (= Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 12 note 52 : (1) [DUB.X.KAM QA]-TI INIM <sup>M</sup>Kán-tu-zi-li (2) [GIM-an ... Š]A <sup>D</sup>U <sup>D</sup>Hé-bat (3) [I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Ki-iz-zu-wa-a]t-ni <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA i-en-zi). Goetze concluded that this priesthood had been filled by Kantuzzilis himself. In the library catalogue XXX 56 III : 7 <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA DUMU.LUGAL is added to his name (Cat. 188.19).

The identity of the author of the prayer to the Sun-god with the general from the time of Suppiluliumas' father (?) has already been proposed by Güterbock, JAOS LXXVIII (1958), p. 238.

<sup>84</sup> XXXII 133 I : 1-10 (Cat. 431 = von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, pp. 165-166).

Himuwa, Tegarama and Isuwa in manuscript Cat. 176 A. But it should be stressed that — quite characteristically — another manuscript, Cat. 176 I, uses a vague, nondescript term instead <sup>85</sup>. With respect to Kalasma (Cat. 283 C) and Kassiya (Cat. 176 A), it is of importance to note that the Hittite claims on these towns are corroborated by the fact that version B of Arnuwandas' pact with the dignitaries of a group of northern towns concerned Kalasma/HAR-ranassa <sup>86</sup> and version C Kissiya <sup>87</sup>. Version A was addressed to Kinnara, the center of a district, which has not yet been localized.

Somewhere in this general framework there is ample space for the humiliations inflicted by Arzawa on the Hittite king mentioned in a royal prayer to the Sun-god (Cat. 276) and the victory over that country referred to in passing in Cat. 310, the Soldiers' Oath, a text which shows many characteristics of Middle Hittite <sup>88</sup>. Perhaps it is useful to elaborate here on the role of Arzawa <sup>89</sup> in this period. The fact that Arzawa was an important power already is reflected in the mere presence of the Arzawa letters in the Amarna Archive (EA nos 31-32 = VBoT nos 1-2). Commenting on the replacement of Luwiya by Arzawa in manuscript B of the Laws, Tablet I, par. 19 Friedrich remarked <sup>90</sup>: "Jedoch wäre es auch denkbar, dass ein Luwiya der älteren Fassung in einem jüngeren Exemplar einfach deshalb durch Arzawa ersetzt worden sei, weil man mit dem veraltetem Begriff Luwiya nichts mehr anfangen konnte, vielleicht auch weil Arzawa damals

<sup>85</sup> Cf. XIII 2 (A) III : 33-34 as compared to XIII 25 (I) IV : 7-8 = von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienst-anweisungen*, p. 48.

<sup>86</sup> HAR-ranassa is mentioned in XXXI 42 II : 6; III : 15, 17 (Cat. 175 B). According to Güterbock, JNES XX (1961), pp. 90-92 it is perhaps a variant form of Harrana, situated not too far from Hattusas in northwesterly direction. See, too, von Schuler, *Die Kaškāer*, p. 32 note 157.

<sup>87</sup> Kissiya equals Kassiya in the same manner as Sipidduwa is identical with Sapidduwa. In addition to XXVI 24 II : 4 (Cat. 175 C) and XIII 2 III : 33 (Cat. 176 A), K/Gassiya is also mentioned in KBo VI 28 Obv. : 10 (Cat. 58), see below p. 78.

<sup>88</sup> For the Soldiers' Oath an attribution to the beginning of the Empire period can be based upon the following arguments : 1) forms like i-en-zi and i-en-du; 2) the use of both kē and apē instead of kūš and apūš; 3) the interchange between -aš and -uš as acc. plur. comm. gender of the Enclitic pronoun; 4) the intermittent use of either medio-passive or active forms of the verb šarra- in transitive function accompanied by either -kan or -ašta; 5) forms like paitti and daitti. See also von Schuler, *Die Kaškāer*, p. 113 for a comparison between passages in the Gassaeen treaties on the one hand and the Soldiers' Oath on the other.

<sup>89</sup> At this point I should warn the reader that I have been unable to use the book by F. Kinal, *Géographie et l'Histoire des Pays d'Arzawa*, 1953. The country of Arzawa is mentioned in XXIII 27 I : 3, 12 (Cat. 85.1), XXIII 11 II : 3 (Cat. 85.2), XXIII 21 II : 16, 31 (Cat. 86), *Madduwattas*, Obv. : 46; Rev. : 20 (Cat. 89). It also occurs in XXXI 130 Rev. : 10 (Cat. 276 B), XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 17, 22 (Cat. 283 C) and in KBo XI 40 VI : 15 (see below, p. 75). An occurrence in the "Fremdländer Liste" KBo II 9 + XV 35 I : 36 (Cat. 406) and in the replica XV 34 I : 59 = XV 38 I : 7 (Cat. 416) may still be added.

<sup>90</sup> Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze*, Leiden, 1959, p. 92.

eine wichtige Rolle spielte". I feel quite certain that this last explanation is right. In Chapter II version B was dated to the beginning of the Empire period.

In the case of Arzawa there never has been any doubt that three entities should be kept strictly separate, a) the country of Arzawa in the beginning of the Empire period, b) the Arzawa lands (first mentioned in the Alaksandus treaty from the time of Muwatallis, but nowhere mentioned in either the "Deeds" or Mursilis' Annals), c) the vassal-state of Arzawa proper from the time of Mursilis and Muwatallis, henceforward denoted as Arzawa Minor<sup>91</sup>. It is highly likely that c) formed the nucleus of a), and that b) presents us with the largest extension a) ever reached.

Unfortunately there is no general agreement on the question which countries did belong to the Arzawa lands. Friedrich<sup>92</sup> includes next to Arzawa Minor itself Mira-Kuwaliya, Hapalla and Seha river land<sup>93</sup>. Goetze reckons with Arzawa Minor, Mira-Kuwaliya, Hapalla, Seha river land and Wilusa<sup>94</sup>. Forrer, too, includes Wilusa but omits Seha river land<sup>95</sup>. The most careful approach therefore consists in the omission of both Wilusa and Seha river land as neighbouring countries which — depending on the political situation of the moment — might or might not be reckoned to the group.

In view of Cat. 85.2. where Seha river (land) and the land of Hapalla are mentioned as separate entities next to Arzawa, one might assume that Arzawa reached its zenith after this campaign of Tudhaliyas II<sup>96</sup>. It could be argued that this took place during the reign of Arnuwandas, if the dishonest vassal Madduwattas really acted as king of Arzawa, as Forrer seems to think<sup>97</sup>. It is true that Madduwattas unquestionably controlled Arzawa Minor, Hapalla and the territory of the later state Mira-Kuwaliya. Nevertheless Tarhundaradus — known from the Arzawa letters in the Amarna Archive — stands a far better chance in my opinion<sup>98</sup>. The existence of this king is of considerable interest, since it seems to

<sup>91</sup> For a localization of Arzawa Minor in the Caystros Valley, see Güterbock, *Istanb. Mitt.* XVII (1967), p. 70. See Cornelius, *Geographie*, p. 394 ff. and Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 83-100 for arguments in favour of the identifications of Arzawa with Lydia and of Apasa with Ephesos.

<sup>92</sup> Friedrich, *Staatsv.* I, p. 49.

<sup>93</sup> The river Seha is mentioned in XXIII 11 II : 4 (Cat. 85.2). In later times Seha river land is in contact with Abhiyawa. For a localization in the Maeander Valley, see Güterbock, *Istanb. Mitt.* XVII (1967), p. 70.

<sup>94</sup> Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup>, p. 179.

<sup>95</sup> Forrer, *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 178 ff. basing himself mainly on the passage in the Alaksandus treaty, *Staatsv.* II, p. 70 ff., par. 17.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. XXIII 11 II : 3, 4 and 6 (Cat. 85.2).

<sup>97</sup> See Forrer, *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 167 ff.

<sup>98</sup> EA no. 31 = VBoT 1 : 2 (Cat. 117.1 = MIO IV (1956), p. 334).

indicate that with respect to Arzawa at least one generation of rulership separates the reign of Arnuwandas from the time of Suppiluliumas.

At the time of the campaigns described in Cat. 85.2 (XXIII 11 II : 13 ff.) the coalition of Assuwa <sup>99</sup> apparently was a second western adversary. The land of Assuwa mentioned in II : 33 seems to comprise all the countries enumerated in the preceding lines, Huwallusiya <sup>100</sup>, Kar(a)kisa <sup>101</sup>, Wilusiya <sup>102</sup> and Tarwisa <sup>103</sup> are also known from other material, either from other cuneiform texts or from later place names in Greek script which are supposed to be related to them. Therefore they are most noteworthy in this list.

Next to Arzawa and Assuwa, Lukka <sup>104</sup> is a third important factor on the west coast of Asia Minor. Again we are faced by a difference in terminology. Next to Lukka the Lukka *lands* also occur. But while many scholars always speak about the Lukka lands in the plural, it has escaped attention that this plural is in fact rather rare. I have only found it in XXI 6 + 6 a, a portion of the annals of Hattusilis III (Cat. 72) <sup>105</sup>. The Lukka lands are also indirectly referred to in

<sup>99</sup> Assuwa is mentioned in XXIII 11 II : 33; III : 5, 9 (Cat. 85.2), XXIII 14 II : 9 (Cat. 86) and XIII 9 + XL 62 I : 2 (Cat. 172). It recurs in the much later letter XXVI 91 I : 14 (Cat. 124.25), for which see Forrer, *RLA* I, pp. 56-57 and Sommer, *AU*, pp. 268-269. For a fourth example see XXXIV 43 : 10 (cf. also Awa(rna) in line 5). For a localization in the northwest of Asia Minor, see e.g. Forrer, *RLA* I, p. 227, Bossert, *Asia*, passim, and Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 105-107.

<sup>100</sup> Huwallusiya is mentioned in XXIII 11 II : 15 (Cat. 85.2). In XXIII 49 : 4 the town is mentioned in the direct vicinity of Arzawa in line 7 (cf. Meriggi, *Fragmente*, pp. 78-79). From Harziuna Mursilis II sends a general out to Huwal(l)usiya (KBo XIV 20 + I : 22-23 = JNES XXV (1966), pp. 170 and 178).

<sup>101</sup> Kar(a)kisa is mentioned in XXIII 11 II : 16 (Cat. 85.2), XXIII 21 III : 30 (Cat. 86) and in *Mad-duwattas*, Rev. : 81 (Cat. 89). It has been thought to be identical with Karkiya as mentioned in the "Fremdländer Liste" KBo II 9 + XV 35 I : 36 (Cat. 406). For the localization of Karkisa in the northwest, see Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 108. In later texts Karkisa is mentioned in connection with Masa and Lukka.

<sup>102</sup> This place name occurs in XXIII 11 II : 19 (Cat. 85.2), and the closely related form Wilusa can be found in the "Fremdländer Liste" of Cat. 416, XV 38 I : 9. In later times Wilusa occurs in the Alaksandus treaty (passim) and in the Tawagalawa letter (XIV 3 IV : 8 = Cat. 51 = Sommer, *AU*, pp. 16-17). For a northwestern localization, see Cornelius, *Geographie*, p. 396, and Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 101-105 (the similarity to Greek Ilios was noted in 1924 by both Goetze and Kretschmer). See, too, p. 77.

<sup>103</sup> The identification with Greek Troy was first proposed by Forrer, *MDOG* 63 (1924), p. 6. See now Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>104</sup> The country of Lukka is named in XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Obv. : 27 (Cat. 283 C) and in KBo XI 40 VI : 21 (Cat. 533). The name has been restored in XXIII 11 II : 14 (Cat. 85.2), but see in this respect Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 106. See also later texts and the following note.

<sup>105</sup> In XXI 6 Rev. : 6 the Lukka lands are followed by the city of Wallarimma in line 7. Hattusilis' text implies that a dangerous enemy overran a great deal of the southwest of Asia Minor. After the Lukka lands have twice been mentioned in XXI 6 a Rev. : 3, 4, the text continues after a paragraph-

the Tawagalawa letter, but the term itself is only implied and not actually mentioned in the extant parts of the text <sup>106</sup>. Everywhere else, however, the singular Lukka is used. Already some years ago Otten gave as his opinion that a Hittite text quoted below points to a northwestern location of the country of Lukka <sup>107</sup>. Recently Macqueen assembled more evidence in support of this thesis <sup>108</sup>. Personally I am not convinced nor am I willing to abandon the traditional equation with the south-west, be it either Classical Lycia or Lycaonia, or as a vague designation the combination of both, i.e. the southwest in general. But it should be conceded that recent studies <sup>109</sup> brought impressive evidence for the thesis that Karkisa and Masa <sup>110</sup> should be located more to the north than was formerly thought.

In a broader context two points call for special comment, first the very specific terminology for vassalage used in these texts. To make someone linkiyaššaš, "of his oath", and the verbs link-, linkanu-, linkanušk-, all occur frequently. "A man of the oath" seems to designate the formal liegeman <sup>111</sup>, while the adjective kuriwanaš denotes a type of dependency with greater freedom, a kind of protectorate according to Goetze <sup>112</sup>. This term kuriwanaš is used in Cat. 89 Rev. : 89 for Attarissiya, man of Ahhiya, but also in Cat. 283 C Obv. : 16 ff., where Hurri land/Mitanni, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa are all characterized with this designation.

In the second place the great number of Hurrian names in the royal family and the increase in Luwian names among the general population both strike the eye. It need not surprise us to find many Hurrian and a few Luwian names in Cat. 87 — the treaty with the nobles from Ismerikka —, but the fact is equally true

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divider with a long list of towns which have been conquered by the enemy. Some of these towns are known from other texts and have plausibly been localized in Pisidia (Kuwalapassa = Colbasa, cf. Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 79, 80 and 82) or in Cilicia. I am inclined to think that before and around 1250 B.C. the term Lukka lands had a wider and more threatening connotation than before.

<sup>106</sup> The Tawagalawa letter (XIV 3 = Cat. 51) I : 1 ff., as translated by Gurney in *Geography*, p. 111 : "Then [...] as went forth and destroyed the city Attarimma and burned it up, even to the wall of the king's palace. And just as the *Lukka-men* had approached (?) Tawagalawas and he had come to these lands, so they approached (?) me also and I came down to these lands".

<sup>107</sup> Otten, JCS XV (1961), pp. 112-113, cf. below, pp. 75-76.

<sup>108</sup> J.G. Macqueen, *Anat. Studies* XVIII (1968), p. 169 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Garstang-Gurney, *Geography*, p. 108 (Karkisa) and Goetze in his review on that book, JCS XIV (1960), p. 47 (Masa).

<sup>110</sup> The country of Masa is mentioned in XXIII 21 II : 23 (Cat. 86) and also in the "Fremdländer Liste" KBo II 9 + XV 35 I : 37 (Cat. 406) and in its replica XV 34 I : 60 (Cat. 416). See also KBo XI 40 VI : 18 (Cat. 533).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. XXIII 68 Rev. : 7, 8, 9 (Cat. 87); *Madduwattas*, Obv. : 13 (Cat. 89).

<sup>112</sup> Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup>, p. 98.



for Cat. 155, not only with respect to the ordinary men and women enumerated in this land grant decree, but also with respect to the high officials mentioned in the closing formula <sup>113</sup>.

Both onomastic features are attributable to the fact that the cultural, if not also the political centre of gravity had shifted towards the Hurro-Luwian southeast of Anatolia. The Hurrian element in the Hittite Empire formed the subject of a special study by Güterbock <sup>114</sup>, while the importance of the Luwian factor has been repeatedly stressed by Laroche <sup>115</sup>. I agree with Otten and Laroche where they attribute Cat. 441, 446 and 447, well-known Luwian rituals, to the SAL.SUHUR.LAL Kuwatallas who lived during the second phase of Arnuwandas' reign <sup>116</sup>. Some Hittite rituals with Luwian interpolations do show archaisms pointing to the first decennia of the Empire period <sup>117</sup>, while texts which can be attributed to that period on other grounds do contain Luwian words, although these are not yet recognizable as such by the use of the gloss sign as a Luwian marker <sup>118</sup>.

It is likely that the so-called "Fremdländer Liste" in rituals of the Evocatio type which enumerate all the countries and towns from which the gods are "attracted" to Hatti land should be dated to this general period <sup>119</sup>. Cat. 406 —

<sup>113</sup> See Halpazitis, Kariyazitis, Nunzitis, and [...] t/sazitis in KBo V 7 Rev. : 51-55 as compared to Duwas, Hullas, Tarhumimas and Neriq[qailis]. LUGAL-<sup>D</sup>KAL is ambivalent.

<sup>114</sup> Güterbock, *The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire*, Journal of World History II (1954), p. 383 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Most recently in his *Résumé* at the end of *Noms des Hittites*, p. 363 ff.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, no. 662.2, following Otten, *Zur grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luwischen*, Berlin, 1953, p. 91, See e.g. šipanduwani in XXXIV 18 I : 3 (Cat. 446.1) = Otten, *LTU*, p. 25.

<sup>117</sup> See Already Otten as referred to in the preceding note; Carruba, *Wisurijananza*, passim and especially p. 56 (using both ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an and the -wani endings as criterion); A. Kammenhuber, *Arier*, p. 101 note 311 (on the basis of ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an).

<sup>118</sup> See Kammenhuber, *ZA LVII N.F.* 23 (1965), p. 201 for tiwari- in the "Familienzwist" Ritual, XXXII 115 + IV : 17 (Cat. 321 II A) = KBo II 3 III : 40 (Cat. 321 I A) = MIO I (1953), pp. 364-365. See also Laroche, *DLL*, p. 98 under tiwali-. Perhaps one could also point to Tunnawi, IV : 13 (Goetze-Sturtevant, *Tunnawi* = American Oriental Series vol. XIV, New Haven, 1938, p. 22) ḫar-tu-u-wa-ḫar-tu-wa-ti, and to XVII 10 IV : 33, tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-aš (Cat. 258 I A), see above, p. 55.

<sup>119</sup> Large parts of Cat. 406 were edited by F. Sommer, *ZA XXXIII* (1921), p. 85 ff. See especially -uš as acc. plur. comm. gender of the Enclitic pronoun in XV 35 + KBo II 9 I : 55. Cat. 416, as edited by L. Zuntz, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti XCVI* (1936-1937), p. 477 ff., shows a number of Middle Hittite traits : see e.g. i-en-zi and ti-i-e-ez-zi, šumenzan, -uš as acc. plur. comm. gender of the Enclitic pronoun, and above all the typical endings -wani and -tani in ištamaštani and ḫuittiyanniškiuwani. See also ḫuittiyanniškiuwani and talleškiuwani in the related text Cat. 417, XV 32 I : 50-51 (but note mukišgaueni in line 52 !). See also Cat. 319, VII 8 II : 20, mu-ke-eš-ki-u-a-ni. This is a fourth ritual of the same type. All four are enumerated and studied by Laroche, *La Prière Hittite*, pp. 24-27.

ritual and prayer to Ištar of Niniveh — presupposes Hurrian mediation. Cat. 416 has a distinctly Hurrian background, witness the Cedar-gods, the mention of Arrapha and Kinahhi, the Hurrian name for Canaan. Cat. 417 was originally written down by a scribe Hattusilis — under dictation of the king himself — and the name of this scribe recurs in ABoT 65, a letter showing many archaisms and also mentioning the scribe Armazitis, known from Cat. 179.6<sup>120</sup>. Numerous geographical items for Asia Minor itself as mentioned in these rituals curiously remind us of the historical texts for this period :

A (Cat. 406 = XV 35 + KBo II 9 I : 35 ff.), ....., Kummaha, Hayasa, ....., Karkiya (Karkisa (?)), Arzawa, ....., Masa, Kuntara, ....., Ura, Luhma, ....., Partahuina<sup>121</sup>, Gassula, .....

B (Cat. 416 = XV 34 I : 58 ff. = XV 38 : 6 ff.), ....., Kummaha, [Hayas]a, Luluwa, Arzawa, ....., Dalauwa, Ma[sa], [(Galkisa)], [Kunt]ara, Iyalanti, [(Wilusa)], [Ura], Luhma, S[(appuwa)]<sup>122</sup>, [Partahuina], Gassula, Hi[muwa], [(Lalha)], ....., [(Gasga)].

A memory of Tudhaliyas II's impressive conquests and an important indication towards the Luwian background of this perhaps itself Hurrian dynasty may be found in the religious text Cat. 533. To an enumeration of KAL- and Ala-deities are added "all the mountains of whole Hatti land, through which His Majesty Tudhaliyas (roamingly) campaigns, all the mountains of Hatti land, through which His Majesty Tudhaliyas, Great King, (roamingly) hunts, all the mountains of the Upper Country, through which His Majesty (roamingly) hunts, ..... (the river) Mala (= Euphrates), ..... (the river) Mammara, ..... (the river) Gurmaliya, ..... all the mountains and all [the rivers] of Hurri land, through which [His Majesty] (roamingly) hunts, ..... all [the mountains] and all the rivers [of the land] Arzawa, through which His Majesty [(roamingly) hunts], ..... mountains and rivers [of the land] Masa, through which His Majesty [(roamingly) hunts], ..... mountains and rivers [of the land] Lukka, through which His Ma-

<sup>120</sup> Armazitis was a scribe during the reign of Arnuwandas I, cf. KBo XVI 27 III : 12 (Cat. 179.6). Perhaps he is also mentioned in the library catalogues XXX 54 II : 8 (Cat. 188.17) and XXX 40 II<sup>2</sup> : 6 (Cat. 188.11), but see Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, no. 141.2 for other scribes of this name. In ABoT 65 (Cat. 121) both scribes may be mentioned in the same context. Typical forms in this letter are the following : ta-pa-aš-ši-i-e-et, ar-ša-ni-e-še, ne-e-a-ri and ḫar-wa-ni. Is it possible that the letter goes back to the Early Empire period?

<sup>121</sup> See for this place name Forrer, *RLA* I, p. 429 : "selbständiger, in der Fremdländerliste genannter Staat, dessen Name sich m.E. in Parthenia, jetzt Bartin in Bithynien, erhalten hat".

<sup>122</sup> According to Goetze, *JCS* XIV (1960), p. 46, Sappuwa is identical with Sappa mentioned in XXVI 24 I : 5 (Cat. 175 C, i.e. in the version meant for Kissiya), and — much later — in the "Apology" of Hattusilis III, II : 60. A western localization follows from this second passage, cf. Goetze, l.c.

jesty [(roamingly) hu]nts, ..... [mountains] and rivers of the land Gasga, through which [His Majesty] (roamingly) hunts" <sup>123</sup>.

From an historical viewpoint the proposed regrouping has much to recommend it. In fact, the linguistic approach as given in Chapter I, the philological data of Chapter III, and the historical considerations of this Chapter all concur in their conclusions: the texts of groups B and C belong together; combined they fit in excellently between the Old Hittite texts and the texts of Suppiluliumas I. Professor Otten's recent monograph *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie*, in which he proposes to eliminate Hattusilis II and Tudhaliyas III altogether, was published during the final phase of this study. Otten's reasoning was prompted — at least in part — by the fact that the Hittite offering-lists for the royal ancestors only allow for one Tudhaliyas and one Arnuwandas, omitting Hattusilis altogether <sup>124</sup>. His conclusion only influenced the manner of presentation in this last, historical Chapter. I am very happy that Otten's reasoning — set in motion perhaps by his linguistical considerations as referred to in the Introduction <sup>125</sup> — is in good conformity with a high dating for the texts of group C. It should be added immediately that this study itself was definitely influenced by those very first hints on the part of Professor Otten and the Marburg School in general. But perhaps I may also stipulate that the high dating of this group of texts — in the way it is presented here, or, as it may be formulated by others — is not dependent on a complete verification of all the details of Professor Otten's reconstruction. The texts dealt with in my study belong to the early Empire age and there still remains a gap to be filled between the period reflected in them and the beginning of Suppiluliumas' reign.

When one seriously considers this new dating for these texts as a whole, it becomes necessary of course to find new answers to questions hitherto answered on the basis of the traditional chronology. Most difficult perhaps will be to explain the background of the indictment of Madduwattas, since this new dating will inevitably have repercussions for the Ahhiyawa problem.

In his commentary on the historical implications of Cat. 88 (Mita of Pahhuwa) Gurney justly remarked that the absence of the names of Azzi and Hayasa from that text is striking: "For we know that from the time of Suppiluliuma to that of Tudhaliya IV the principality of Azzi-Hayasa was one of the more important

<sup>123</sup> Cf. II 1 VI and the new text KBo XI 40 VI, cf. Otten, JCS XV (1961), pp. 112-113, and Laroche, OLZ LVIII (1963), c. 247.

<sup>124</sup> See Otten's very helpful synopsis in MDOG 83 (1951), p. 63 and now also *Quellen*, p. 27 Tabelle III.

<sup>125</sup> See above, p. 2.

powers with which the Hittite kings had to deal : the city of Dukkamma was one of its strongest fortresses. Yet a man from Dukkamma appears here as one of the contracting parties .....” Gurney concludes : “It seems reasonable to infer that at this period the kingdom of Azzi-Hayasa had broken up into a number of smaller units”<sup>126</sup>. We now know that Hayasa does occur in another text of this general period<sup>127</sup>. Our conclusion must be that apparently Dukkamma did not yet belong to Hayasaeen territory. The introductory phrases to Suppiluliumas’ treaty with Huqqanas from Hayasa support the thesis that the state of Hayasa grew out of a comparatively loose confederation<sup>128</sup>.

We know from that same treaty that a certain Mariyas, who came from the same region, had been severely punished for his improper conduct at the Hittite court. Because he had dared to look at a SAL.SUHUR.LAL — a palace woman — and had been caught at it by His Majesty’s father, he was put to death<sup>129</sup>. This may mean that just like in the case of Arzawa (Tarhundaradus) also for Hayasa at least one generation of rulership between Arnuwandas and Suppiluliumas seems a distinct possibility : it is indeed striking that Mariyas plays no role in Arnuwandas’ texts. The same conclusion also holds for Kizzuwatna, since Paddatissus and Talzus belong between Sunassuras I and Sunassuras II, or — to be even more precise — between the moment Kizzuwatna shifted allegiance to Hurri land and the time of Suppiluliumas I<sup>130</sup>.

As has already been noted by Gurney, a treaty also gives independent support for the attribution of Cat. 85 to Tudhaliyas II<sup>131</sup>. In the customary prologue to Muwatallis’ treaty with Alaksandus of Wilusa (often identified with Ilios), it is told that when Tudhaliyas campaigned in Arzawa he did not enter into Wilusa, because this country remained loyal and repeatedly sent messengers to the Hittite king. There is a problem, however, because the passage in Tudhaliyas’ annals does mention Wilusiya and Tarwisa (usually taken for Troy) as belonging to the vast group of hostile countries<sup>132</sup>. I do not think that one should try to remove this contradiction by separating Wilusa from Wilusiya. The two names form a pair on the same footing as Huwalusa and Huwal(l)usiya, the first denoting the

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Gurney, AAA XXVIII (1948), pp. 45-46.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. KBo XVI 45 Obv. : 3, 4.

<sup>128</sup> Friedrich, *Staatsv.* II, p. 106, par. 1.

<sup>129</sup> Friedrich, *Staatsv.* II, p. 128, par. 32.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Landsberger, JCS VIII (1954), p. 50 and Goetze, JCS XI (1957), p. 72. Gurney, *CAH* fasc. 44, p. 30 thinks that Paddatissus and Talzus belong between Arnuwandas I and Suppiluliumas (contemporary with Sunassuras II).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Gurney, *CAH* fasc. 44, p. 20 on account of Friedrich, *Staatsv.* II, pp. 50-53, par. 2.

<sup>132</sup> XXIII 11 II : 19 (Cat. 85.2).

town and the second the surrounding country <sup>133</sup>. Either one of the two accounts is incorrect, or else the town remained loyal, while the country around it rebelled.

More important, perhaps, is Edmund Gordon's observation that the appearance of a king of the Hurrians in Tudhaliyas' annals (Cat. 85.2) would have been an impossibility at the time of Tudhaliyas IV, when the kingdom of Mitanni had been destroyed and its territory incorporated into the Empire of Assyria <sup>134</sup>. This also applies to XXIII 16 (Cat. 123.8), a small enigmatic text written by a presumably later king Tudhaliyas from the time before Suppiluliumas (see also Cat. no 171.3 as (arche)type for Cat. 170, military instructions of a king Tudhaliyas, Cat. no. 178.1 and perhaps also 179.9). The king who wrote this text mentions his father (III : 2) and the general Kantuzzilis (III : 5, 7). In this text the Hurrians are repeatedly mentioned and one of the enemies bears the beautiful Indo-Aryan name of Kartasuras <sup>135</sup>.

I have already referred to those texts which bear testimony to the decline of the Hittite power during the later years of Arnuwandas. It seems likely that the loss of Nerik in particular was felt as a major disaster. Another group of mainly secondary sources — traditionally connected with Tudhaliyas III but according to Otten's hypothesis relevant to Arnuwandas I — bespeaks of even greater difficulties. An often quoted, late text of Hattusilis III — Cat. 58 — describes how enemies from all sides advanced against the Hittite inner country and how eventually Hattusas, the capital itself, was burned down with the exception of the Mausoleum (?). The Gasgaeans penetrated unto Nenassa. The Arzawaeen enemy set his boundary at the towns of Tuwanuwa and Uda. The foe from Arawanna sacked the whole country of Gassiya. The Azzian foe destroyed the upper country and reached Samuha. The enemy from Isuwa sacked the country of Tegarama. The foe from Armatana set his boundary at Kizzuwatna, the city <sup>136</sup>. Güterbock has shown that some of these enemies (the Gasgaeans, Arzawa, Arawanna and Azzi) are mentioned in the second and third tablet of the "Deeds" as foes against whom Suppiluliumas and his father had to fight <sup>137</sup>. A passage

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the writer, JNES XXV (1966), pp. 170 and 186.

<sup>134</sup> See Gordon's point as given by Gurney, *CAH* fasc. 44, p. 20. But it should not be forgotten that kings of Isuwa are mentioned in 13th century texts, cf. H. Klengel in his article *Die Hethiter und Isuwa*, *Oriens Antiquus* VII (1968), pp. 63-76 on p. 70 ff. For Assyria's annexation of the Mitannian territory, see — most recently — Otten, *Afo* XXII (1968-1969), pp. 112-113.

<sup>135</sup> With respect to this name, see Landsberger, *JCS* VIII (1954), p. 130, and A. Malamat, *JNES* XIII (1954), p. 239. But note the contrary opinion of Kammenhuber, *Arier*, pp. 63, 92 and 172.

<sup>136</sup> KBo VI 28 Obv. : 6-15 = Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>137</sup> Güterbock, *JCS* X (1956), pp. 119-120.

in Mursilis' Ten Years Annals recalls how in the time of his grandfather a Gas-gaeon nation stationed in the Tarikarimu mountains threatened the capital<sup>138</sup>. Two other passages in texts from the time of Mursilis II — one in the "Deeds" and the other in his First Plague Prayer — have been adduced to prove that the capital itself was endangered<sup>139</sup>. A far echo of this event is discernible in one of the Arzawa letters found in the Amarna Archive<sup>140</sup>. I am inclined to think that the events which have been attributed above to the later years of Arnundas led up to this still more critical situation in the years before Suppiluliumas' accession to the throne.

Perhaps it may be deemed appropriate to end this Chapter with a short evaluation of Tudhaliyas' importance as a Hittite king. The beginning of his career led to a first important break-through after a long period of internal strife which had been attended by a complete inactivity on the international field. His reign marked the beginning of an important and lasting Hurrian impact on the Hittite civilization. Although it eventually proved impossible to maintain the vast empire that had been conquered, he unquestionably was one of the greatest Hittite kings. It seems highly likely that it was mainly due to his example that Suppiluliumas strove to re-enter the Syrian scene and to make Hattusas one of the great powers of the rich Amarna Age.

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<sup>138</sup> KBo III 4 III : 57 ff. = Goetze, *AM*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>139</sup> See von Schuler, *Die Kaškarer*, p. 34 together with notes 181 and 183, referring to Goetze KIF I (1928), p. 166 ff., par. 4, and Güterbock, "Deeds", fr. 11 II : 8 ff. = JCS X (1956), p. 64.

<sup>140</sup> EA no. 31 = VBoT 1 : 25-27 (Cat. 117.1) = MIO IV (1956), pp. 335, 336 and 338. The passage has recently been translated by Güterbock, *RHA* fasc. 81 (1967), p. 145 : (The Pharaoh of Egypt to the king of Arzawa) "I have heard (that) everything (is) finished ! And the land of Hattusa, too, has gone to pieces !" See also Neu, *Interpretation*, p. 69 note 15.

## Appendix A :

LIST OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS  
FOR THE MIDDLE HITTITE TEXTS

- Cat. 85      Annals of Tudhaliyas 1 : XXIII 27  
                        2 : XXIII 11 (A) and 12 (B).  
This composition was edited by R. Radoszek, *Rocznik Or.* IX (1933), p. 50 ff. In my opinion one text may be added to this number : XXIII 36 (Cat. 123.11) + XXXI 35 (Cat. 153). This join was made by Meriggi, *Fragments*, p. 83. In column II the text describes the first penetration of a Hittite king to an unnamed sea (cf. Meriggi, l.c., p. 82). In column III the same or another sea is mentioned, in this case most probably the Black Sea. XXIII 16 might stem from a later king Tudhaliyas of the period before Suppiluliumas. The king's name is Tudhaliyas (III : 13) and he mentions his father (III : 2). The general Kantuzzilis is mentioned (III : 5) and there are references to the Hurrians (one of them bears the name of Kartasuras!). For a similar ascription see already Laroche, *Catalogue*, under no. 123.8.
- Cat. 86      Annals of Arnuwandas : XXIII 21 (= VI 49).  
See A. Goetze, *Madduwattas*, p. 156 ff. and *Kizzuwatna*, p. 56 ff. I have added XXIII 14 (repeatedly added to this composition by other scholars since Bossert, *Asia*, p. 26), XXIII 116 (Cat. 123.14; see already Goetze, *RLA* I, p. 153 and, more recently, Meriggi, *Fragments*, p. 80), XXI 10 (Cat. 41.50) and 97/c (for these texts see "Deeds" fr. 50-51 = JCS X (1956), p. 117 ff.; see already Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, p. 123 under no. 837.1), KBo XII 35.
- Possible candidates for either Cat. 85 or 86 are rather numerous, cf. XXIII 18 (Cat. 123.9), XXIII 26 (Cat. 123.10), XXIII 49 (Cat. 123.12), XXIII 59 (Cat. 123.13) and XXIII 63 (Cat. 135).
- Cat. 87      Treaty with Nobles from Ismerikka : XXIII 68 (+) XXVI 41 + ABoT 58. See R. Radoszek, Cr. Société des Sciences et Lettres de Varsovie XXXII (1939) I, p. 25 ff. and A Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 44 ff.
- Cat. 88      Mita of Pahlhuwa : XXIII 72 + XL 10 (and 11?).

- See O.R. Gurney, AAA XXVIII (1948), pp. 32-47.  
For this join see above, p. 5.
- Cat. 89 Madduwattas : XIV 1.  
See A. Goetze, *Madduwattas*, MVAeG 32.1 (1927).
- Cat. 94 Treaty of a Hittite king with king Sunassuras (I?) of Kizzuwatna : VIII 81 (Laroche Cat. 36.2 B) and XXXVI 127.  
See A. Goetze, ZA XXXVI N.F. 2 (1925), pp. 11-18 and H. Pet-schow, ZA LV N.F. 21 (1962), p. 242 ff. I have dealt with this com-position above on pp. 44, and 60.
- Cat. 95 Treaty with the Gasgaeans : XXIII 77 a (+) XIII 27 + XXIII 77 + XXVI 40.  
For translation and commentary, see E. von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 117 ff.
- Cat. 96 Treaty with the Gasgaeans : A KBo VIII 35  
B<sub>1</sub> XXIII 78 + XL 36  
B<sub>2</sub> XXVI 6  
C KBo XVI 29  
D XXXI 104.  
The last two tablets are parallel versions (see above, p. 41).  
For translation and commentary, see E. von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 109 ff.
- Cat. 97 Fragments of treaties with the Gasgaeans : 1 = XXVI 19 (see von Schuler, o.c., p. 130 ff.); 2 = XXVI 20 (see von Schuler, o.c., p. 140 ff.); 3 = XXXI 33 (see von Schuler, o.c., p. 142); 4 = XXXI 105 (see von Schuler, o.c., pp. 139-140).
- Cat. 99 Treaty of Arnuwandas (?) with men from Ura : XXVI 29 + XXXI 55. See H. Klengel, ZA LVII N.F. 23 (1965), p. 223 ff. and especially pp. 227-228.
- Cat. 124.6 Letter (?) concerning Kurustama : A KBo VIII 37  
B XL 28  
In my opinion XL 28 represents another duplicate (see above, p. 6).
- Cat. 155 Land grant decree of Arnuwandas and Asmunikal : KBo V 7.  
See K. Riemschneider, MIO VI (1958), p. 344 ff.
- Cat. 171.3 Military instructions of a king Tudhaliyas : XXVI 17.  
This tablet reflects the archetype of Cat. 170 (for which see Laroche, *Catalogue*). See S. Alp, *Instructions*, Belleten XI (1947), fasc. 43, p. 383 ff.
- Cat. 172 Law-text of Tudhaliyas II : XIII 9 + XL 62.  
See E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Königserlasse*, p. 446 ff.
- Cat. 174 Instructions for the Mayor of Hattusas : A XXVI 9  
B XXIII 64.



- The following texts may be added : XXXI 112 (cf. Laroche, Cat. 178.12), KBo X 4-5, KBo XIII 58.  
See especially H. Otten, *Aufgaben eines Bürgermeisters in Hattusa*, Baghd. Mitt. III (1964), pp. 91-95.
- Cat. 175 Treaties with the dignitaries of a number of northern districts concluded by Arnuwandas and Asmunikal :  
A XXXI 44  
B XXXI 42  
C XXVI 24 + XL 15.  
See E. von Schuler, *Würdenträgeride*, *Orientalia* XXV (1956), pp. 209-240.
- Cat. 176 Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards. I have have only included those manuscripts which might belong to the old recension : E<sub>1</sub> XXXI 87 (+ )  
E<sub>2</sub> XXXI 88(+)  
L<sub>1</sub> XL 55 (+)  
L<sub>2</sub> XL 56  
M XIII 1  
N XL 57.  
See E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, pp. 36 ff., 59 ff. and A. Goetze, JCS XIV (1960), pp. 69-71.
- Cat. 178.1 Law-text of a king Tudhaliyas : XIII 7.  
See E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Königserlasse*, p. 458 ff.
- Cat. 178.10 Treaty with the external characteristics of a sealed land grant decree : XXXI 103.
- Cat. 179 Protocol for the royal succession : 179.1 XXXIV 40  
2 XXXIV 41  
3 XXXVI 112  
4 XXXVI 113  
5 XXXVI 114  
6 XXXVI 116  
8 XXXVI 118  
9 KBo XVI 24 (+) 25.  
Cat. 179.6 is in fact another treaty with the Gasgaeans, cf. E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, p. 134 ff. : XXXVI 115 + 117 + KBo XVI 27. Passages from Cat. 179.9 have been dealt with by Sommer-Otten, *OLZ XLVIII* (1953), c. 15, E. von Schuler, *Würdenträgeride*, p. 217 note 13, H. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*, p. 43.
- Cat. 180.2 Related fragments : 2 XXXVI 119  
See H. Otten, MDOG 83 (1951), p. 55 note 7, H. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale*, p. 43. Two texts may be added : XXXIV 58 and 203/f

(see above, p. 5). For the former see H. Otten, l.c., and for the latter, E. Neu, *Interpretation*, p. 33.

Cat. 275 Prayer of Kantuzzilis : XXX 10.

See A. Goetze, *ANET*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 400-401.

Cat. 276 Royal Prayer to the Sun-god : A XXXVI 75

B XXX 11 + XXXI 135(+) XXXI  
130

C XXXI 129

D XXXI 128 (+) 133.

I have followed Güterbock's suggestion to transpose Cat. 274 C and B (+) D to Cat. 276, cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* LXXVIII (1958), p. 242 note 27 and in G. Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 57 note 17. For this composition and the preceding one see H.G. Güterbock, *The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun*, *JAOS* LXXVIII (1958), p. 237 ff.

Cat. 277 Prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmunikal about the disruption of the cults in the north. For the Computer Project I have adopted the sigla which von Schuler used in his edition, *Die Kaššäer*, p. 152 ff., with the following additions given by Professor Güterbock :

E 398/u + 1945/u

F 1691/u (-uni endings from this manuscript are quoted by Neu, *IF* LXXIII (1968, p. 173)

G 1241/u

H 1099/u.

See also Goetze, *ANET*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 399-400.

Cat. 283 C A Plague Prayer re-used by Mursilis II :

A XXIV 4 + XXX 12

B KBo VII 63 (I owe the reference to this duplicate found by Laroche to Professor Güterbock).

See O.R. Gurney, *AAA* XXVII (1940), p. 26 ff. (copy D in Gurney's notation).

Cat. 354.1 Asmunikal on the establishment of a mausoleum : XIII 8.

See H. Otten, *Tot.*, p. 106 ff.

KBo XV 10 Ritual mentioning Tudhaliyas and Nikalmati, to be published in the near future by Miss G. Szabó.

KBo XVI 31 Fragment of an instruction or treaty.

35 Fragment of an instruction or treaty.

46 Fragment of an instruction or treaty.

47 Treaty of the 15th century B.C. with Huhazalmas, cf. H. Otten, *Istanb. Mitt.* XVII (1968), p. 55 ff.

50 Pledge of Allegiance, cf. H. Otten, *RHA* fasc. 66-67 (1960), p. 121 ff.

# Indices

## OTHER COMPOSITIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY

Cat. 117.1	EA 31 = VBoT 1	308 A	XXIX 1
2	EA 32 = VBoT 2, 70, 79	B	XXIX 2
121	ABoT 65, 75	C	XXIX 3, 53-55
169	IBoT I 36, 68	310 A	KBo VI 34, 70
181.1 A	KBo VI 2	319	VII 5 +, 74
	B KBo VI 3, 29-31, 35-36, 49, 70-71	321 I A	KBo II 3
		II A	XXXII 115 +, 36-37
		406 A	XV 35 + KBo II 9, 74-75
258 I A	XVII 10, 31-33, 55-56, 74	416 A	XV 34
261 C	XXXIII 25 +, 31, 55	B	XV 33 1 +, 74-75
262.1	XXXIII 15, 33	417 A	XV 31
2	XXXIII 31, 33	B	XV 32, 74-75
274 A	XXXI 127 +, 34-35		
283 A	XXIV 3 +, 33-35		

## LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

N.B. The added numbers refer to Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*.

Armazitis (141.2), 75	Mita (808), 5, 61, 63, 65-66
Arnuwandas (148.2), passim	Nikalmati (875), 4, 56
Asmunikal (174), 1, 4, 32, 58, 67	Paddatissus (957), 77
Attarissiya (201), 63-65, 73	Sunassuras I/
Harapsili (297.2), 32	Sunassuras II (1178), 5-6, 44, 60, 69, 77
Hattusilis II (349.3), 1, 76	Suppiluliumas I (1185.1), 1, 6, 27, 57,
Hattusilis (349.8), 75	76, 79
Huhazalmas (384), 4, 68	Talzus (1233), 77
Kantuzzilis (503.1), 5, 69, 78, 80	Tarhundaradus (1268), 71, 77
Kartasuras (529), 78, 80	Tudhaliyas II (1389.3), passim
Kupanta- <sup>D</sup> KAL (635.2), 59, 64	tuhukantis Tudhaliyas (1389.4), 1, 4,
Kuwatallas (662.2), 68, 74	58, 67
Lalantiwahas (681), 5	a king Tudhaliyas (1389.3/4), 6, 38, 62,
Mariyas (762.2), 77	69, 78, 80
Madduwattas (794), 5, 63-65, 69, 71	

## LIST OF PLACE NAMES

Ahhiya(wa), 63-65, 71, 73, 76	Gasga, 59, 62, 67-68, 75, 78
Alasiya, 65	K/Gassiya/
Alatarma, 65	Kissiya, 67, 68, 69, 70
Aleppo, 59-60	Kastama, 67
Arana, 61	Kinnara, 68, 70
Arawanna, 68, 78	Kizzuwatna/i, 59, 60, 61, 63, 68, 69,
Arhita, 66	73, 77, 78
Arzawa, 58, 62, 63, 64, 68,	Kummaha, 66, 68, 75
69, 70-72, 73, 75,	Kuruppiya, 58, 59
78, 79	Kurustama, 6
Assaratta, 59	Kuwalapassa, 64, 73
Assuwa, 5, 59, 62, 72	Kuwali(ya), 64, 71
Adaniya, 59	Lukka, 64, 65, 68, 72-73, 75
Attarimma, 65, 73	Lusa, 58, 59
Awarna, 64, 72	Mala, 75
Hapalla, 64, 71	Maltiya, 4, 62, 65
Hariyati, 63	Masa, 59, 64, 72, 73, 75
HAR-ranassa, 68, 70	Mira, 64, 71
Hayasa, 66, 75, 76-77	Mitanni, 59-60, 61, 63, 69, 73
Himuwa, 67, 70, 75	Mutamutassa/
Hinzuta, 65	Mutamutasi, 65
Hurri land, 4, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 68, 69,	Nerik, 67
73, 75	Pahhuwa, 4, 5, 61, 63, 65, 66
Hursanassa, 65	Parsuhalta/
Huwalusa, 77-78	Pasuhalta, 58, 59
Huwal(l)usiya, 72, 77-78	Partahuina, 75
Irrita/e, 61, 63	Pitassa, 65, 68, 69
Iismerikka, 5, 61, 63, 73	Pittiyarik, 5, 62, 65
Isuwa, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66,	Samuha, 62, 69, 78
67, 70, 78	Sa/ipidduwa, 67
Iyalanda, 64, 65, 75	Sappa/
Kalasma, 68, 70	Sappuwa, 75
Kar(a)kisa, 58, 59, 72, 73, 75	Seha river land, 71

- Sinnuwanda, 59  
Siyanta river, 64  
Suhma, 61, 62, 63, 65  
Sullama, 65-66  
Suruta, 65  
Dala(u)wa, 64, 75  
Tarukka, 67  
Tarwisa, 72, 77  
Tegarama, 67, 70, 78  
Terussa, 61  
Timmiya, 66  
Dukkamma, 66, 77  
Dukkamma, 66  
Ura I,  
Ura II, 68, 75  
Urussa, 61  
Waliwanta/  
Uliwanta, 58  
Wallarimma, 65, 72  
Washaya, 67  
Wassukanna/i, 61  
Wattarusna, 66  
Wilusa, 71, 72, 75, 77-78  
Wilusiya, 72, 77-78  
Zazlipa/  
Zizzilippa, 61  
Zihhana, 67  
Zippasla, 63, 64  
Zunnahara, 59

